1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

leather or woven maguey fiber in cold weather. Women wrapped about their loins a finely woven cloth, which they sustained with a narrow belt. A sleeveless slipover, or *huipil*, completed their costume. They plaited their hair into braids, sometimes interlacing them with ribbons, and these they wrapped around their heads. This woman's costume may still be seen in many parts of Indian Mexico. (See Plates 33–36.)

The poor made their garments of maguey fiber or coarse cotton. The rich wore the same clothing fashioned from finer textures and decorated with elaborate embroidery. The many names given to the different kinds of mantles show their interest and importance to the wearers. Wool was almost never made into cloth, since dog hair was all they had, but feather cloaks were highly esteemed. Chiefs wore a fillet of leather from which hung two tassels, and administrative chiefs had a sort of diadem of gold or jade and turquoise as a badge of office.

The warriors frankly gloried in their costumes. Rich mantles and ornate feather headdresses were not enough for some, who carried on their shoulders a harness of wicker supporting an elaborate structure in feather mosaic. Others wore costumes modeled on the appearance of an ocelot or an eagle. On specified occasions the priests assumed the dress of the gods and goddesses, whose costumes were sumptuous and ornate and defined by exacting ritualistic marks of identification. (See Plate 61.)

Jewelry consisted of ornaments of copper, gold and silver, shell, various-colored stones, like jade, turquoise, emeralds, opals or moonstone, and mosaics laid on a backing of clay, wood or reed. Large plugs were inserted in the ear lobes of

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

301 men and women alike. Men often wore ornaments passed
[304] through the septum of the nose or suspended from a slit in the lower lip. Elaborate necklaces and pendants, armlets and leg bracelets, gave brilliance to a costume for state occasions.

302 Cosmetics were not used to touch up nature, as with us, but instead a lavish application of face and body paints in red, blue, yellow, green and black enhanced with prismatic richness the softer tones of their brown flesh. (See Plates 46–47.)

105 It is obvious that the Aztecs were no pitiable craven savages. They lived upon variegated and delicious foods and dwelt in houses that were comfortable and airy. Their dress stimulated the exercise of merited self-satisfaction, not to be confused with the compensations of vanity. Their manner of life enabled them to take advantage of their personal aptitudes and exchange the products of their own creation for whatever they lacked. Articles for daily and ceremonial use were made with the loving care of master artisans, and rare indeed was the object that did not have the impress of some little decorative touch that makes a pleasant possession of a drab utensil. Their crafts deserve to themselves a complete chapter.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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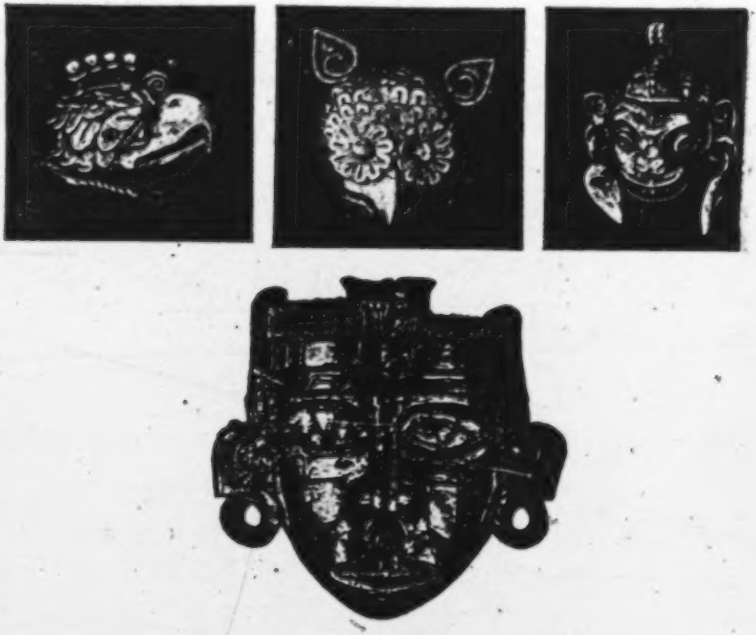

PLATE 46

AZTEC GOLDWORK

TOP ROW: Small gold ornaments from Oaxaca reveal exquisite workmanship. MIDDLE: A buckle representing the god Xipe has a strong sculptural quality. BOTTOM: *Left:* A gold worker from the Codex Florentino makes a mosaic ornament like that at right, in which turquoise mosaic enhances a gold reproduction of the shield and arrows, constituting the sign for war.

[p. 144 (B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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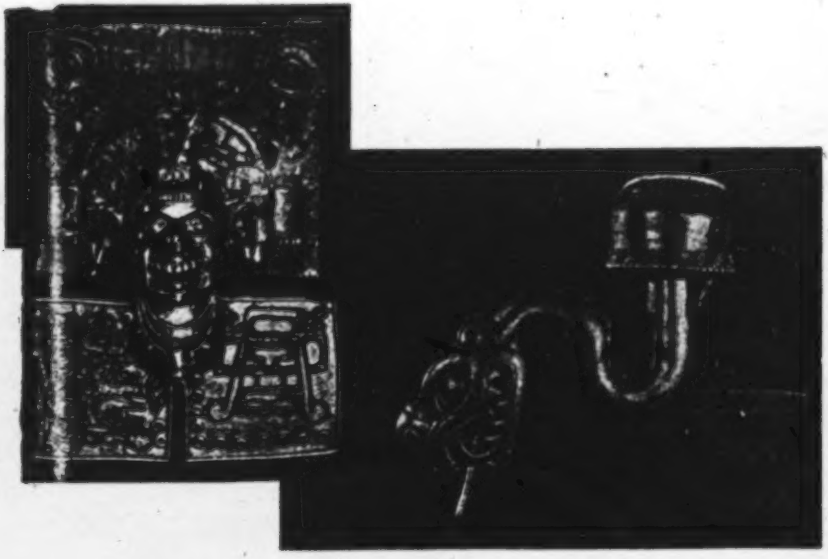
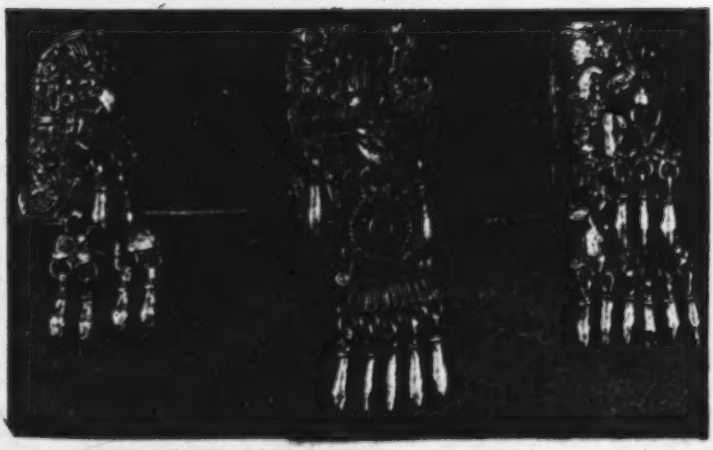


PLATE 47

AZTEC GOLDWORK

Almost all Aztec goldwork went into the Spanish melting pot. Most surviving examples come from Oaxaca, where the supply was doubled by Caso's discovery of Tomb 7 at Monte Alban, represented by upper left and bottom and opposite-page middle. The lip ornament (*upper right*) has a movable tongue that makes a very lively serpent indeed. These few examples give an idea of the range of form and skill of the Aztec goldsmith.



[p. 144(E)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

row of vendors of implements and tools, such as obsidian blades, carved and burnished pottery, spindle whorls, deer-horn awls, bone bodkins and a few copper axes and needles. A brilliant mass of color characterized the booths of the feather salesmen. Some sold merely bunches of plumes, the lovely green of the quetzal, or trogon, and the multicolored plumage of parrots. At the other stands feather cloaks, mats and shields gave evidence of charming fancy in their design and patient toil in their execution. (See Plates 38–39.)

Jewelers displayed jade ornaments and gold worked into precious rings of filigree or massive beaten gorgets. It was the jade, however, that caught the envious eye and was produced with furtive circumspection as a material of great price. Other merchants sold ornaments of shell, and the pinks, whites and subtle mottled browns of sea shells contrasted with the rich dark sheen of tortoise carapaces. At one booth a rich warrior earnestly bargained with the proprietor for an exquisite pair of earplugs, cunningly inlaid with a mosaic of turquoise and mother-of-pearl.

The smiling whispers and admiring glances of the crowd at the jeweler's abruptly changed in the slave quarters to appraising stares. Some of the chattels wore wooden collars, and their brutish faces had a hopeless expression. These had sunk to servitude long ago as a result of crime or of capture in war. Others were thin and emaciated but did not wear the collar of bondage. They had met with misfortune and were selling themselves for the first time to ensure food and shelter.

A low hum rose from the market place; there was none of the strident shouting of the European fair. The bargaining for goods was carried on slowly, quietly, but, nonetheless,

2: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1950 NU7 Aztec NU7

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And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and went among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[106] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[107] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had contentment in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[108] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[109] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[110] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chiconquiauitl, or Chalmecaciuatl, Acxomocuil, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzoaoc.[110] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Atzcaputzalco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They have them up [like

Auh in tecomatl, in poctecomatl, in aiutectli, in aquaujetl, yn atzaccaiutl:

intlanel iautitlan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan onnemj, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichioalirtica, in nexintica, in tlatoltica quintlachecalhuja in chaneque. [292]

Auh intla otlaneçomaltique, intla oittoque: vncan quipopoiomjctia, quinchillatilia: ça aca, aço ce, aço vme yn oc nẽ tematitlanpa quiça, iehoatl quioalnonotzaia in motecuçuma: [263] [266]

ic vncan quimaca, caquilia, ypoçonaltenteuh, yc quimaviziotia, ic quinezcaiotia, in tiiacauh, vncan ic oquichtia. [431] [301]

Auh yn iquac oalacia, ynchan: vn jmiloch, ynnecuepal oquichiuhque, yn otlaltechacico, yn otlaltechpachiuhque: iuquich tlacatl quinotza, in puchteca: yoan in otlatoque, ic motetitiaia: [504]

mjtoa, mocuepaca, cenca quimavixtiliaia yn itopil, yn jtlaçaia yiacatecutli: 776

cana in calpulco quiquetzaia: achto quitlamanjlia, yn iquac tetlaqualtia: yoan intlaca nel motecoanotza, quitlamanjlia in ça muchipa yn jtlaquaia. 796 [778]

Auh intla aca tealtiz, iehoatl caltiaia, quitecaia in jteouh yiacatecutli: anoço ceme iehoantin yn mocheoaia, in quimoteutiaia in chiconquiaujtl, aneço chalmecacioatl, yoan acxomocuijl, yoan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzoac, ainc quijocuja, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, anoço vme, ca altiz tlacatl:

vmpa concovaia yn tlacamecujloca azcaputzalco: motlahtlatilia, motlapapatilia, quincuecuepa, quimjhitta, yn qualtin quincoaxque, yn acan quenamjque, in tlacaiecti, in tlacamelaoaque, yn acan cucuxque, yn atle intlaciuh ca: 776 796 567

ynjc iehoan quinmictique, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhuiquiztililoia vitzilubuchtli:

yquac quinchichioaia, quintlamamaca, intech quitlalia yn juhquj ynechichinal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn ixamo quinmjctia, achtopa quinteititiaia: mjtoa quimjxpextia, ic quitemachitia in tealtique:

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104. *Cf.* Tezcatzoncatle (*op. cit.*, p. 57): Yxcauhtihqui "*preparamentz representa persona, que tiene virtud, ó habilidad, para mofar graciosamente, ó engañar, y es sabio, y sagaz (que es propia condicion de Mercaderes)* . . . ."

105. *Cf.* Sahagún (*Ensiqe Kapitel*, p. 22) citing *Hist. Reyn. Colh. Mex.* B. II §69.

106. Book IX of the *Historia general* deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonia que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies*, mentions washing mouth and hands.

107. Sahagún defines *colpolli* as "*yglesia del barrio, ó parrochia*" (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the substantive in this manner: "*Estos dueñes que tratauan a estos esclauos.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

109. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Sahagún (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 92) recognizes Cochimetl and Yzcapitzoaoc as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chiconquiauitl or Chalmecaciuatl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomocuil is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

The seventh month they named Tecuilhuitontli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the goddess of salt, whom they called Uixtociuatl. They said that she was elder sister of the Tlaloc gods. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman decked in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Al septimo mes llamauan Tecujlhujtontli: En el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a la diosa de la sal que llamauan Virtocioatl: deziã que era hermana mayor, de los dioses tlaloques: matauan a honrra desta diosa vna muger compuesta con los ornamẽtos que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

Chapter 7
Tecuilhuitontli

On the eve of this feast, all the old women sang and danced, as well as the young women and girls. They went held by some short cords which they carried in their hands, one [taking] one end, another the other [end]. These cords they named *xochimecatl*. They all wore garlands of wormwood [flowers] of this land, which are called *iztauhiatl*. A number of old men led them and ordered the singing. Among them went the woman who was the likeness of this goddess and who was to die arrayed in rich ornaments.

On the night before the feast, the women, with the same one who was to die, kept vigil; and they sang and danced all night long. At break of day, all the priests arrayed themselves and performed a very solemn dance. And all who were present at the dance held in their hands those flowers which are called *cempoalxochitl*. Thus dancing, they took many captives to the Pyramid of Tlaloc, and, with them, the woman who was to die, who was the likeness of the goddess Uixtociuatl. There they slew first the captives and then her.

Many other ceremonies were performed during this feast; and also [there was] great drunkenness, all of which is set forth at length in the account of this feast, *fol.* 76.

Cap. 7
Tecujlhujtontli.

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La vigilia desta fiesta cantauan y dançauan todas las mugeres, viejas, y moças y muchachas yvan asidas de vnas cuerdas cortas que lleuauan en las manos, la vna por el vn cabo, y la otra por el otro: a estas cuerdas llamauan sochimecatl: lleuauan todas gujrnaldas de axenxos desta tierra que se llama iztauhiatl: gujsualas vnos viejos, y regian al canto en medio dellas yva la muger que era la ymagen desta diosa, y que avia de morir adereçada con ricos ornamentos.

La noche antes de la fiesta: velauan las mugeres con la mjsma que auja de morir, y cantauan, y dançauan toda la noche: venjda la mañana: adereça- uanse todos los satrapas, y hazian vn areyto muy solemne: y todos los que estauan presẽtes al areyto, tenjan en la mano aquellas flores que se llaman cempoalxochitl: assi baylando lleuauan muchos catiuos al cu, de Tlaloc: y con ellos a la muger que auja de morir que era imagen de la diosa Virtocioatl: alli matauan primero a los captiuos, y despues a ella.

Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, y tambien gran borracheria: todo lo qual esta a la larga puesto en la historia desta fiesta. fo. 76.

1. Marginal notation: Mercellus, patri, aqui Bus.

785 fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in
X 796 order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well
463 and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

X 796 In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the
[776] first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses who are named Cioapipilti, because they said that
[289] then they came down to the earth. They adorned their images with papers and offered them offerings.

The Fourth Movable Feast

X 796 In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second
273 house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a
[776] great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the second god of wine; and not alone to him but to all the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the court-
[463] yard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine, and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had some canes through which they drank. The wine
[415] sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

The Fifth Movable Feast

X 796 In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they
[301] otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts
[432] to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace folk.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival
[346] to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they observed in the house called *calmecac*, which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce descendian a la tierra, ataujauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vne tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzquitecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comjda, y cantauan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: los taberneros yuan ceuando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

La quinta fiesta moujble

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde morauan los satrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[6] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[7]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl.[8] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Yoaltecatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[9] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzintli, [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhtecatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with mussel shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored —part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhqueme, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhqueme. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal

Auh mjeccan in qujmoncaoaia,

quauhtepec: auh yn vmpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie ytoca etiujia, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlatquj, yiapaltic.

Jnic vccā miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, intlacateteujtl, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlatquj, tliltic, chichiltic ic oaoanquj.

Jnjc ezcan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmjquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, qujtocaiotiaia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj catca texotic.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlā, çan itzintla, çan ixpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiujia in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic muchichiuhtiuja, vlpiiaoac, tlaulujtectli.

Jnic macujlcan, vmpa in atl itic itocaiocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmjquja, itoca ietiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj, in caqujtiuja, epnepanjuhquj.

Jnic chiquaceccan: vmpa quiujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, cectlapal yiappalli.

Jnic chicoccan, icpac yn jiauhqueme: çan no itoca ietiuh, yiauhqueme, in tlacateteujtl: yn itlatquj ietiuh, tlacemaqujlli, yn jiappalli.

Jzqujcan yn, in miquja nextlaoalti, tlacateteuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxixiliquj, quetzalmjiaoaio: in chalchiuhcozquj ietiuh, yoan momacuextitiuj, qujmomacuextitiuj chalchiujtl: tlaixolujlti, qujmixolhujaia, mjxmichioaujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchintin maujçoiuj, tlacencaoalti, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçotlantiuj, qujmamatlapaltia, amatl,

[6] Maps of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times locate most of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of place-names is at times confusing. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: "*es vna sierra empinada que esta cerca del Tlatelulco.*"

[7] *Yiapaltic*, Sahagún (Spanish text) has *encarnado* (deep red, flesh colored); later he has *leonado* (lion colored, tawny) for *yiapalli*. For *papaltic*, *ibidem* (*op. cit.*, p. 56) has *pardusco*; Molina (*op. cit.*), *cosa tirada de negro*; Siméon (*op. cit.*), brown or black.

[8] The Spanish text explains: "*es vna sierra eminente que esta cabe guadalupe.*"

[9] *Loc. cit.*: "*es aquel montezillo, que esta deuaxo dicha laguna, frontero del Almoloian.*"

[10] *Loc. cit.*: "*es vn monte, que esta en las xurisdicion de Almoloia, y alli cabe tepetzinco.*"

[11] *Loc. cit.*: "*es vn monte que esta cabe chalco ayuntamiento.*"

[12] Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 57) reads *yamatlatquaz*, which he translates as *ihre eigentümliche Feier*.

[13] Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) says "*pusiquelos vnos alas de papel como angeles.*"

feathers, and in these [the children][13] were kept?

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292

[314]

[825]

796 X
[292
301
237]
[314
824]

[289]

[493
237]

"He is as my beloved father." And yet he might eat of someone else's captive.

And the captor kept the [captive's] skin for himself; he lent it to others. For twenty days the skin was carried by one person and another, worn for the entire feast. He who wore it gave everything given him, all that he had collected, to the captor. Afterwards [the captor] divided up [the gifts] among [all of] them. Thus he made use of his skin.

And when this was done, when they had finished with the gladiatorial sacrifice victims, then there was a dance and a procession about the round sacrificial stone, by all the impersonators [of the gods] and those who had fought the victims, all going ceremonially arrayed. In this way did they who did the slaying end [the ceremony]. All severally took with them the head of a captive, a sacrificial victim, and therewith danced. This was called "the dance with severed heads."

And the old wolf man grasped the rope [which had fastened the captives to the offering-stone] and raised it [as an offering] to the four directions. He went weeping and howling, like one bereaved; he wept for those who had suffered and died.

And also from the warring cities, from beyond [the mountains], those with whom there was war, were summoned, in secret, and came within, in secret, as Moctezuma's guests, the Nonoalca, the Concateca, the Cempoalteca, the Mecateca. [These ceremonies] were shown to them, and they were confounded. For thus they were undone and disunited.[24]

And when this feast was celebrated, it was when *tortillas* of uncooked maize were eaten.[25] Those who witnessed the ceremony carried *tortillas* of uncooked maize with them, when they went to look on, and they were eaten there.

And upon the next day, the third day of the feast, then began the bringing out [of the skins]. It was very late at night that it began at the great palace. The Tlatelulca began it, and ended it at the time of eating. These the priests replaced, adorned and dancing in a variety of different arrays, with butterfly nets and fish banners; with clusters of ears of

quitoa, ca iuhquj nopiltzin: Auh in malli, quitoa ca notatzin: auh tel tepal quiquaia intemal.

796X [266]

Auh yn ieoaio quimopialtiaia in tlamanj, quitetlaneuhtitinemj, cempoalilhujtl ipan tlatlacoalo, nepapatlalo, yn onneaquilo cemjlhujtl: yn aquin onmaquja in quexquich maco, in quexquich quinechicoa conmacatimanj in tlamanj, çatepan quitexexelhuja, tetlatlamachia: ic quitlaiecultia yn ieoauh.

[431]

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn ontlanque oaoanti, njman ic mjtotia, quijaoaloa in temalacatl, yn ixquichtin teixiptlati, yn otlaoaoanque, mocencauhtiuj, çan iuh tlantiuj yn oiuh tetlatlatique: muchintin cecentetl intlan ca ana, yn jntzontecon mamalti, in oaoanti, ic mjtotiuj: mjtoa, motzontecomaitotia.

796X 535

Auh in cujtlachueue, contilinja in tonacamecatl, nauhcampa conjiaoa, chocatinemj, tehcoiouhtinemj, iuhqujn mjccaoati, quinchoquilia yn otlacotique, yn onmicque.

796X

Auh no iehoanti, yn iiaooan altepetl, tlateputzca, ynjn ca manca teuatl, tlachinolli, quimonnotzaia ichtaca, oalichtacacalaquja, yn jcooaoan motecuçuma: yn nonooalca, cozcateca, cempoalteca, mecateca, tlattitiloia, tlamaujçoltiloia: njman ic xitinoqa, necacaoalo.

796X 648

Auh yn jquac tlaoaoano, çan no iquac qualo, vilocpalli: in tlatlattaque vmpa conjtquj yn jnvilocpal, ymjttac ietiuh, vmpa quiquaquatoque.

[262]

Auh yn imuztlaioc, in ie ic eilhujtl: njman pepeoa in teq'quixtilo, cenca oc hueca iooan in peoalo, in peoa, in vmpa vey tecpa: quipeoaltiaia in tlatelulca, tlaqualizpan quioalcaoaia: njman quimonpatla tlamacazque, ynic muchichioaia, ynjc mjhtotiaia, çan tlanenel, çan nepapā tlaquijtl, papalomatlatl, michpanjtl, ocholli, tzōcoiotl, tzoalli, tlachichioalli, xone-

796X 301

24. Durán (*op. cit.*, pp. 175-80) says that Moctezuma I invited "*los señores de toda la redonda*"—Texcoco, Tlacopan, Chalco, Xochimilco, Cuauhnahuac, the Mixtecapan, and as many more as possible. "*Los señores de las provincias y ciudades*," he continues, "*admirados y asombrados de semejante novedad, participaron para sus provincias y pueblos lleenas de temor y espanto . . . dando cuenta de lo sucedido. . . . Desde entonces todos los de las provincias y ciudades comenzaron de tratar reuniones ni comunidades con los mexicanos, viendo quán cabalmente estaban y eran tenidos de sus enemigos.*"

25. Ulloa-Galli: "*tortillas, como comprendidas, que hacían de nuebo sin cocer*," according to Sahagún's Spanish text. In Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 74, n. 1) this is defined as the equivalent of *nacacoyaltamalli*—"*das 'Brot in Gestalt eines Ärschleins'. . . . Er war ein Gebäck in Ringform, das man eingeschnitten, Zusammengebogen Mastdarmen, also aus Maismehl, nicht aus Maismasse, hergestellt wurde.*"

maize;[26] with coyotz heads made of a paste of amaranth seeds; with S-shaped *tortillas* and thick rolls[27] covered with a paste of amaranth seeds and with toasted maize on top; and red amaranth, which was really red feathers, and maize stalks with ears of green or tender maize.

After midday, the priests rested. Thereupon the Tenochca and the Tlatelulca came together, two rows of Tenochca and two rows of Tlatelulca facing each other. All danced very slowly; the dance proceeded in harmony. Then all emerged, coming out of the palace gate, and all arranged themselves. Moctezuma came forth with them: he came out dancing. At his right and left came two great princes, Neçaualpilli of Texcoco and Totoquiuaztli, ruler of the Tepaneca. Great solemnity reigned as all danced.

And when it was already dark, when it was already night, all dispersed. Then began the singing and dancing [with interlocked hands];[28] there danced the novice warriors, the chief warriors—those who had captured four captives or more, as well as those who had taken one or two. And these were named also young leaders. And also the princes danced. And likewise women danced with them—those known as mothers, but only if they wished; they were not forced. And also immodest women, harlots.

And then all departed, when midnight was nigh, when trumpets had been blown. For twenty days it continued in this manner, until the Feast of Toçoztontli arrived.

cujllaxcalli, teumjmjlli, çan no tzoalli ic quipepechooaia, quimomochiotiaia panj: yoan oauhchichilli, çan tlapaliujtl catca, yoan cintopilli, eloio, anoço xiloio.

Yn omoticalo tonatiuh, moceuja in tlamacazque, njman ie ic monepanuja, montlamanuja, in tenuchca in tlatilulca, vmpanti in tenuchca, no vmpanti in tlatilulca, mixnamjctiuj, cenca çan yujian, yn netotilo, cenca vel cooamantiuh in netotiliztli: njman oalquixoa intecpa qujiaoac, oalneimanalo, oalteujca in motecuçoma, oalmjtotitiuh, quitzatzacutiuitze, quioalitzcatitiuj, vmentin veueintin tlatoque Neçaoalpilli tetzcuco, totoquiaztli, tepanecapan tlatoanj: vel mauiztli oonoc in nehtotiloia.

Auh ie tlapoiaoa, ie tlaixcuecuetziuj in necacaoalo, njman ic peoa, in cujcoanolo, mjtotiaia in telpuchtequjoaque, teachcaoa, in nauj cacitinemj, yn anoce oc quezqujnti ymalhoan: yoā in ce, vme, cacitinemj. Auh no motocaiotiaia hy, telpuchiiaque: no yoan in tlatoque mitotia. Auh no tehoan in cioa mjtotia: mjtoa tenaoan, çan illo tlama, amo tequjuhtiloia: auh çan no iehoātin yn aujianjme, in maaujltia.

Auh iquac necaoaloia, in ie hiciuhtiuh, ioalnepantla tlatlapitzalizpa: cempoalilhujtl, yn iuh tlamanca, yn juh tlamanja: vmpa onaci yn ipan toçoztontli.

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26. Cf. Paso y Troncoso, *op. cit.*, p. 109: ". . . *es decir, las mazorcas de maíces que se guardaban para esta fiesta exclusivamente por mucho tiempo así secas de las cañas.*"

27. See Anderson and Dibble (*op. cit.*, p. 14). Possibly these resembled the wrapped ferrer in Pl. 12.

28. Cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba, Mexico: s. p., 1940), pp. 80, 219. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, says: "*unos traýdos de las manos, unos demandos como enlaçeando.*"

Any who wished, to whom it was pleasing, who wanted to, of the youths who had been drunk, [did so].

in çaçe aquin connequja, coninonectiaia, ontlaeleujaia in mihivintia telpopochti.

And some of them had so made vows that they would hide away the skins; because perchance they were covered with sores, or perhaps had an infection of the skin, or had maladies of the eyes, since for some this was successful and thus they recovered. Some did not recover.

Auh cequintin ic monetoltia, yn coatlatizque: ipampa aço papalanja, aço çaçaoati, anoço ixcocoia: tel in aca, ipanti, ic pati, in aca amo pati:

Each one of the captors came forth from his house, and appeared in and went wearing the [captive's] skin. They went with paper streamers[6] upon their shoulders and upon the calves of their legs.

ceceiaca inchan in tlamanjme oalpeoa, oaleoa conmaquitiuj in coatl, amateteujtl, ymacolpan mamătiuh, yoan in tlanitzco.

And so they went jumping, pressing on, arriving together. So [foul] did they smell [that verily] the stench wounded the head. [It was] repellent. All men held their noses when they were met, when they went among people.

Auh ynic vih, chocholotiuj, hiaxtiuj, centlalli mantiuh, ynjc yiaque, vel tetzonujtec, aisnamjquizzli: çan neiacapacholo ynjc namjco, ynic tetla qujça.

And the skins, crumpled and crackling, were hardened. And some carried them in baskets—dried up, frayed, stiffened.

Auh yn coatl, ocototzauh, ocacalachoac, oquaoac: auh in cequj ça chiqujuhtica qujnapaloa, yn ouelitepioac, yn oquelochauh, oquappi'zoac.

And the captors came in lead of the *tototecti*. They bore their incense-ladles. They went with their gifts tied up in bundles—mantles perchance painted with designs, or in dark brown,[7] or crimson, or in two colors diagonally divided,[8] or with edges adorned with feathers—with feathers surrounding the edge.

Auh in tlamanjme, qujniacan..uj in tototecti, intletlema, intletlema ietiuh: qujmoolpilitiuj yn innetlauhtil, tilmatli, aço tlacujlolli, anoço camopalli, anoço nochpalli, anoço nacazminquj, anoço teniujoaoanquj, yhujtenoaoanquj, yhujtentlaiaoalo.

And when they had arrived at the place where the skins were hidden away, on the top of the Temple of Yopitli, Yopitli's Temple, each one dedicated [incense] to the four directions; the captors offered incense, raising [toward the sky] their incense-ladles, and shaking them.

Auh yn oaxioac, yn coatlatiloian, yn icpac teucalli iopitli, iopiteucalli: nauhcampa ceceiaca ontlaiiaoaia, in tlamanjme ontlenamacaia, conjiaoa yn jntlema, conujujxoa.

And those who stood clothed in the skins then undid them, and stood divested [of them]. And when they had taken the skins off, they cast them down, they threw them into a cave. And the captors went down to the bottom [of the temple pyramid] and quickly left and poured out the coals into the incense-burner.

Auh yn onacticac coatl, njman mototoma, mototonticac: yn oqujoalcopin coatl, contlaça ica onmaiauj yn oztoc. Auh in tlamanj, oaltemo tlatzitla, qujoalcauhtiqujça, qujoaltentiqujça, tlehquazco in tecolli.

And they who had come to dispose of the skins, which they had gone about wearing, washed themselves not with water, but with flour—with corn meal, with which they rubbed their faces. They scrubbed their faces with flour.

Auh yn oqujcaouto coatl, yn onmaquitiuja, amo mixamja atica, çan iotextli, tlaoltextli, inic onmixxaxaqualooa, ynic onmjxmamatiloa, mixioteruja:

6. See Chapter 20, n. 9.

7. In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 525, Seler translates *camopalli* as *kamoxfarbene* or as *orange-farbene Decke*. In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 79, he has "*kamoxfarbenen* (*von der braunen Farbe der Knollen der Batatas edulis*)." Molina (*op. cit.*) has *color morado como*.

For *nochpalli*, Seler (*loc. cit.*) writes "*karmoisinfarbenen* (*von der Farbe des Nochtzil, der Kaktus-Schildlaus*)."

8. Cf. Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, *loc. cit.*, and illus., p. 531.

X796 in his discourse, that he might talk graciously, converse well, and greet people agreeably on the road, if he met anyone.

For he was much honored when he appeared as the impersonator; because he was the likeness of Titlacauan; he was acknowledged as our lord, treated like a lord; one begged favors, with sighs; before him the common people bowed in reverence and kissed the earth.

[827] And if they noted that his body became even a little fat, they made him drink brine, so that he became thin; the salt water thinned him, so that he became lean; he became hard; his flesh became firm.

And for one year he [thus] lived; at [the feast of] Toxcatl, he appeared [before the people]. And when the man died who had been impersonator for one year, he who had led the way, he who had cast [the spear] for one year, who had given commands for one year, forthwith was one chosen to be set in his place, from all whom the temple guardians had saved and cared for at the time that [the captives] appeared [before them].

Thereupon he began his office; he went about playing his flute. By day and by night he followed whatever way he wished.

[302 567] His eight young men went following him. Four [of them] had fasted for a year; their hair was shorn like [the hair of] slaves, cut and clipped, not smooth like a gourd, nor cut [too] short, not [made like] growing whiskers on the head.

And four warriors, who instructed youths in the art of war, [were] similarly shorn. Their hairdress lay upright on their foreheads.

Then Moctezuma adorned [the impersonator] well and arrayed him in varied garb; he provided him [his appropriate indumentary]. He ornamented him, he adorned him in great pomp with all costly articles, which he caused to be placed upon him; for verily he took him to be his beloved god. His face

[302] was anointed with black; it was said: "He fasteth with blackened face." A thick layer of black was smeared on his cheeks. White feathers were placed upon his head—the soft down of eagles. They placed it on his hair, which fell to his loins.

[301] And when he was attired, he went about with sweet-smelling flowers[7] upon his head, a crown of flowers. And these same were hung over both shoul-

ynic vel mjmatiz, ica itlatol, vellaoz, vel tenotza, vel tetlapaloz in vtlica, intla aca qujnamiquiz:

ipampa ca cenca mauiztililoia yn iquac oixnez, in ie teixiptla: ynic ixiptlati Titlacaoan, ca totecujo ipan machoia, netecuiotilo, tlatlauhtilo, yca elciciooa, ixpan nepechteco, ixpan ontlalqua in maceoaltzintli.

Auh intla ie qujtta, in ie achi tomaoa ynacaio, iztaiotl qujltequitiaia, ic qujquaoatzaia, quiztaioquaoatza, ynic pipinja, tepitzauj, tlalichauj yn jnacaio.

Auh cexiujtl in nemja ipan toxcatl, yn ixnecia: auh iquac miquj ce tlacatl yn oteixiptlatic ce xiujtl, in ce xiujtl, ooallaotlatocti, in ce xiujtl oquitlaz, in ce xiujtl ooallaujcac: ça çan ic mopatlatiuja yn ixquetzaloia, yn ixquichtin quinpiaia, in qujnnemjtiaia caçalpisque, yn iquac oixnez:

njman ic compeoaltia, yn itequjuh, in tlapitztinemj: cemilhujtl, yoan ceniooal: çan connequja in campa ieh vtli quitocaz:

quitocatinemj yn iachoan chicueintin: nqvin mocexiuhçauhque, moquatexoloxima, moquateçonoa, motlatetecilhuja, amo maiochiquj, amo maioichiquj, amo moquacoconaloa, amo moquatetzicoa

Auh no naujntin, teachcaoan, tetiachcaoan, çan ie yujn moxima yn iuhca innexin, motlaeoatimanjlia, yn jmjxquac.

Jquac vel qujcencaoa, qujcecencaoa in Motecuçuma, qujtlamamaca, qujchichioa, qujieiecquetza: muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jtech qujtlalilia: ipampa canel ic ytlaçotecouh ipan qujmati, moçaoa, ic mjtoa motlilçaoa, mixtlilpopotztinenca, moquapotonjaia, quauhtlachcaiotica: çan q'ujaqujlaia yn itzon, ycujtlacaxiuhian vetzia.

Auh yn omocencauh izqujxochitl in icpac contecatinemj, icpac xochiuh: yoan çan ie no ieh in necoc-

7. *Rosarita hexuita Hernández*, according to Ixtlilxochitl (*Ensayo Kapinl*, p. 97, n. 1, and *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 68). In the former he quotes from Hernández that *f.* 5 flower resembled poppy corn.

ders, as far down as his armpits. This was called "the flowery garment."

And from both ears hung curved, gold, shell pendants.[8] And they fitted [his ears] with ear plugs made of a mosaic of turquoise. And [he wore] a shell necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white sea shells.

And then his lip plug was a slender snail shell lip plug. And hanging from his shoulders was what was like a cord bag called *icpatoxin*.[9]

Then they placed golden bracelets on both upper arms, and on both wrists they put carved bracelets with precious stones, covering almost all the forearm. And he put on his net cape like a fish-net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.[10] And his coutly breech clout reached to the calves of his legs.

And then they placed his bells on both legs, all golden bells, called *oiaalli*. These, as he ran, went jingling and ringing. Thus they resounded. And he had princely sandals with ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When [the feast] of Toxcatl was drawing near, when it was approaching him, when it was coming to him, first they married him to [four] women whom they sought out [for him]. He was married in [the month of] Uey toçoztli.

And he left off, scattered in various places, and abandoned the ornaments he had had, in which he had walked about fasting, painted black. His hair was shorn; he was given a tuft of hair tied upon his forehead, like that of a war captain. Thus they bound [his hair], knotting it [with brown cotton thread] called *tochiacatl*; and they tied to his long hair[11] his forked heron feather ornament with single quetzal feathers attached.

Only twenty days he lived, lying with and married to the women. Four women he lived with; who also were cared for, for one year, in the guardian's house.

The first one was named Xochiquetzal; the second, Xilonen; the third, Atlatonan; the fourth, Uixtociuatl.

And still on the eve of [the feast of] Toxcatl, still five days from it, on the fifth day [before it], when

campa ic mapanaia, ycuacacpa quiquixtiaia: in motenecoa xuchineapãtli.

Auh yn jnacazpitech nenecoc papilcatiujia teucujtlaepololli: yoan conaqujaia icoiolnacoch, teuxiujtl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhçalolli: yoan chipolcuzcatl, yn jcuzquj, oc cepa yielpancuzquj iztac cilin.

Auh njman ie yteçacauh, iteçacapiaz tecciztli: auh ycujtlapan pilcatiuh itoca Jcpatoxi, iuhqujn icpaxiquipilli:

njman ie nenecoc teucujtlamatemecatl contlatlalitiuh in jacolpã, yoan in nenecoc imaquechtlan, xinmaquiztli in contetecatiuh, achi vel qujtlatlamja yn jmatzotzopaz: auh çan ycuechin in quiquentiuh, iuhqujn xoujlmatlatl ic cocoiaoac, tochiacatl ynjc tentlaiaoalo: yoan ytlaçomaxtli quimoztopeoa:

auh njman ie ycoiol nenecoc, icxic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtoa oioaali: iehoatl inic xaxamacatiuh, ynic tzitzilicatiuh, ynic caquizti: yoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in mochichioaia, in iehoatl miquja ce xiujtl:

yn iquac ie oalacitiuh toxcatl, in ie itech ompachiuhtiuh, yn ie itech onacitiuh, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, cihoatl qujttaia, mocioaoatiaia ipan vey toçoztli.

Auh qujtepeoaia, qujtlatlaliaia, quicaoa, yn jnechichioal ocatca, yn ipan omotlilçauhtinenca, moxima, mjxquatzontia, iubqujnma iautequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xittomonjlpitica: yoan yaztazel, quetzalmjiaoaio, itzotzocol itech qujlpia:

çan cempoalilhujtl in oncioacuchtinemi, yn oncioaoatinemj: naujntin in cioa q'nujcatinenca, no cexiuhtica in pialoia calpixcan:

y ce itoca xochiquetzal, ynjc vme xilone, ynjc ey Atlatona, ynjc nauj, vixtocioatl.

Auh in ie itentla Toxcatl, oc macujltica, tlama-

8. *"Como orejillas de oro"* (Sahagún: *loc. cit.*).
9. *"Llevaua a las espaldas, en ornamento como bolsa, de un palmo en quadro de lauores blancos, con sus borlas y flecadura"* (*loc. cit.*).
10. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo edition), Vol. II, p. 310.
11. Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 163. The corresponding Spanish text, however, reads: *"con una franxa curiosa, atrauesada capeilla arriba de las cabellos, dos borlas con sus bueruos, borlas de plumas, y oro, y xochiuitzil, muy curiosas, que eran llamauan ocuipilli."* Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 98) describes "The first kind of maxtlatl [which] has a design called, by Sahagún, *tzitzilicatiuh*, because of the conches woven in *xochiuitzil* or red rabbit's fur; the ground of whirlpools enclosed in a square of dark red, has squares of white feathers. The fringe is also of red *xochiuitzil*." From this, it would appear that *xochiuitzil* is red string, and *xochiuitzil* a red thong of rabbit hide.

kept about. And the priests also danced. It was called "the leap in the month of Toxcatl."[17]

There were paper rosettes fastened upon [the priests'] foreheads; they decked their heads with white feathers. And they smeared honey on their lips; their lips were gleaming. They had paper breech cloths. And their black feathered staves had jackdaw feathers in the form of a cup, and a round ball at the base, also of black feathers. The black feathered staves also were called black rain-bird [staves].[18]

And where they went grasping [the staves] were papers painted with black scroll designs. And these [priests], as they danced, made circles with, and struck, their black feathered staves on the ground.

And only in the tribal temples were those who beat the drums for them, seated upon the ground. They beat the upright drums; they sat beating gourd rattles; they sat rattling gourd rattles and beating turtle shells.

And all the masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and the youths were spread out, dancing elsewhere [a dance] called the serpent dance.

And hence [they named what] was danced a serpent dance, because they moved back and forth, and from side to side, and met each other face to face. They went holding each other's hands as they danced.

And also a number of young women danced, having so vowed, a popcorn dance. As thick as tassels of maize were their popcorn garlands. And these they placed upon [the girls'] heads. And they were painted; down to the thighs were they bedecked with feathers. And [these] reached up to their upper arms. And they went mingling with and among those who danced.

Of these, it was said that they embraced, they embraced one; they embraced Uitzilopochtli.

And these girls were very well guarded, that none might covet them, nor ravish them.

And all who danced the serpent dance were well watched, that none might fall into covetousness.

And if anyone were seen seducing one [of the girls], then the masters of the youths threw him to the ground. They dragged him; they stepped upon him as he lay stretched out; they trampled upon him.

chocholotimanj: auh in tlamacazque no mjhtotia, mitos toxcachocholoa:

amaixquatechimaletimanj, amaixquatecuimaleque, moquaquapotonja iztac tocolivitica: yoan motetennecuvia tetentzotlantiuj, ymamamazzli, yoan intzatzanatopil, tzanaivitl, in iuhquj ytecomaio, auh yn itzintelolojo, çan no tzanaivitl: no motocaiotia ycujtlacuchcho, in tzanatopilli.

Auh ynjc quitzitzqujtiuj, amatl acaxilquj, ynjc tlacujlolli: auh in ichoantin, hin, ynjc mjtotia, tlaiacaloa, ic tlaxixiltiuj yn jntzanatopil:

auh çan calpulco, in quintlatzotzonjliaia, çan cacate cheoaticate: çan tlalpan veuetl in quitzotzona, aiacachotoque, aiacachquetztoque, aiotl quitzotzona, aiaujtectoque, aiochiuhtoque.

Auh yn ixquich teachcaoan, in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in telpopuchti, cecnj manj in mjtotia, motenteoa mococoloa.

Auh ynjc mjhtotia mococoloa, ichica aujc viujh, ixtlapal viuj, mjxnanamiquj, in matitech maantiujh ynjc mjtotia.

Auh no cequjntin cioa ichpopuchti, mjtotia inic tol, momomochiitotia: centzontecomatl ynjc tomaoac catca, ynmomochicoaquj, yoan ymicpac contecatiuj, moxaoa, yoan in metztomaoaian aci, ynjc mopotonja, yoã ymacolpan onacia: intlan mamantiuj, intzatzalan mantiuj, in mjtotia.

Jn ichoantin hin, moteneoa tlanaoa, tenaoa, qujnaoa in vitzilopuchtli:

auh in ichoantin ichpopuchti, cenca vel pialoia, ynjc aiac qujmjxeleuiz, ynjc aiac qujncamanalhuiz.

Auh yn ixquichtin yn mococoloa, vel mopiaia ynjc aiac vncan moleuiz:

auh intla aca itto, tecamanalhuja: njmã tlalli ic qujujtequj, in teachcaoan, qujnujujlana, qujnitilicça, qujmiicça:

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17. Corresponding Spanish text: *"saluo o bayler de la fiesta de tezcatl"*; Ciudad (*op. cit.*, p. 298) translates *tezcachocholoque* as *"se salen al baile de Tezcatl."*

18. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies only black feathers; cf., however, Robredo edition, Vol. III, pp. 142-3 and 147. The last-mentioned reference to *tzanatl* is: *"Hay otra ave que se llama tzánatl; es negra y tiene el pico corvo."* Ixtlac (*op. cit.*, p. 106, n. 2) calls *tzanatl* jackdaw or daw; or (*ibid.*, p. 233) rook thrush. Of this and *ol cuitlacochin* he says it is *"un Vogel, der gegen Ende der Regenzeit sich hören läßt und darum Sicherheit durch dem Glauben der Mexikaner, Landregen verkündet wollte. Ich habe den Namen dieses Vogels deshalb mit 'Regenpfeifer' übersetzt. Es wird wohl ein Vogel mit ähnlichem schwarzem Gefieder gewesen sein wie der der tzanatl oder Dohle."* Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) merely explains: *"o que tiene llamamos cuitlacochin, por causa de la lluvia, que llamana chuan, en el verano."* See also *supra*, p. 44.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Astec NU7

handled them and cast them to the ground. If somewhere there was a puddle of water, there they cast them down and slid and rolled them, leaving them to wallow in the mud, covered with mire. Just so they forced them to the banks of the lake, to the place where they dragged people to the water, at a place called Temoco.

And when they had arrived there, the [chief] fire priest and the other five priests thereupon [sacrificially] burned the papers and the gods molded in incense, and those formed of rubber. And the incense they scattered in various directions and spread over each of the reed mats.

And when this was done, it was as if they wounded the water when they cast [their captives] into the water. Like a roaring beast the water stormed and rose. And if any tried to come out from under the water, they plunged him under, [so that] he sank deep.

And if any were experienced in water, when [the captors] had submerged them, they fared well.[1] They came out of the water at a distance, and then took off, fleeing and escaping.

And some, in truth, [the captors] ceased to faint, and verily they swooned. Indeed, they left them, hurt, truly as if dead, laid out at the water's edge.

And some, who had swallowed much water—this bitter water—[their friends] held head down, that [the water] which they had swallowed might come out through their noses and mouths.

And when all this had come to pass, then all turned back, all returned again, blowing their conch shells as they went.

And those who had been cast into the water went only to their houses; their kinfolk accompanied them. They went sickened, trembling, shivering, that at home they might recover.

And when [the priests] had reached their houses, again were laid and spread out the mats of green and white reeds. And also were strewn about reeds. Here again began the fast named "the day fast." Also there was fasting for four days. Not now was one drunkard [for misbehaviours]; nor did they now eat [only at midday].

At this time they began the [priests'] vested adornment. The novice priests aided the priests in their arraying. They prepared all the divers paper vestments named qujnxtol, ynepa qujnxcuilaca ynepa quixpepeyocca, quixmixjiloa, quixçoquixpeyocoxtemj, qujçoquixcloxtemj, çan iuh quixmomiçia yn xtenco, in tentlan papacholoia, iuccaiocan tzocco.

796[X]

Auh yn iquac yn cruzioc in tlenamacac, yuan oc cequixcia tletlenamacaque, njman ie ic quixtlatia yn xtetl, yuan copalteca, yuan vhxco: yuan yn jiuhcli, quixtzepoa, quixcoconnaia in tolpepechpan.

Auh yn iquac xnechica y, yn itl inhquin tzoçonimanj, yuic tentlan papacholo: inhquin tlacaocuxtimanj, vel nacoquexca yn itl: auh yn acz oalpanemiznequj conpolactia, centlanj iuh.

Auh yn acz mamiinj, yn oconpolactique, çan ic coniauh, vecxi oquimitzi, njman ie cholca, nacichtia, nantzaquixtia:

auh in cequixtin vel quixnjhiiocxoxhtia vel çaçotlan, ça nimjcque in quixcaca, ça q'nmicnocaca nenco quixnolhuca:

auh in cequixtin oquixnoloque itl, in chichic itl, quixtzamicpiloca ic oalquixa, yn iniacac yn jocamac, yn oquixnoloca.

Auh in ie inhquj njcan ie oalujloca, icujtlaujc oalujlan oc cepa oallapixtiuj:

auh yn oxtlaquipacholoque, çan inchan vihuj, quixnujxca in inchantlaca, cocentiuj, viojojacatiuj, mixtzitlacatiuj, yn ocxitlocxtinque inchan.

Auh yn oxitzco calmocac, oc cepa tlatzcca, motzcca yn axtapilpitzlal, yuan zo motzcca yn xtalin, oc cepa vncan pcca in nopoalchi, inca nechcaçaxtlali, no xnujllujxil in nextlacaçaxia, nocmo nentzo, nocmo tlacxtlaquaia:

[785]

Auh yn ie ic vncal ompcca in tlachichicuiaia, quixtlachichiuhtica in tlamocaquac, tlamocaxtzac, quixcocoa yn ixquich xnentlaquixtil, in tlaquechquixtil, yn

796[X] 301

[1] Editor's comment or direct quote would be acceptable reading for the Aztec text. Sahagún, in the Spanish column, states that they were cruelly tested by strength.

X 796 [301]

manta, the paper shoulder rosettes, the semicircular paper neck ornaments, and the bags for incense, which were purchased only [at the market]; and necklaces of wood, [also] sold only at the market place.

tmacuezpalli, yoā yn jiatzatli, çan quimococozquia, yoan in tlaxopacocuatl, çan monanamacaia tlanquinco.

And when they had reached [the end of] the four days, when all had fasted, then at early dawn all began to array themselves.

Auh yn oncāc nauilhuitl, ynjc netlacaçocalo, njman iooxinco in pepa in techichioalo:

293 X 796 [302]

Then were bedight the five priests and all [the other] priests. Early in the morning, all put on the shoulder rosettes. And they placed, over them, the paper neck ornament. They all put on the paper neck adornments. And their foreheads were stained blue—they were colored blue—and their bodies were stained. They were painted after the manner of Uixtociuatl.[26] And in their hands they carried the incense bags. The fire priests carried with them their ocelot-skin incense bags, provided with small, white, sea shells. In four places shells hung from the incense bags.

njman mochichioa in tletlenamacaque, yoan yn ixquich tlamacazquj, iooxtico yn ennacajilo, in tlaquechpaniod: yoan cuel[illegible]a ymicpac, amatecpalli, neamacuez[illegible]tilo, yoan neixquatezoujlo, tzijquatezoujoia, yoan michioaia, moujxtoichioaia: yoan intlan caana yn istaztli: tetlan tlaano in tletlenamacaque, ynoccelojxiaz cuecuechcho, nauhcampa in pipilcac, cuechtli, yn itech yiaztli.

And the bags of the [lesser] priests were only of paper, painted like ocelot hide, painted to look like ocelot [skin]. Some [incense bags] represented the *atzitzicuilot* bird;[27] some represented ducks. Their bags were filled with incense.

Auh in tlamacazque ymjatzaz, çan amatl in tlachichioalli, tlaocelocujlolli, oceloicujlouhquj, in cequintin atzitzicujlod ipan mizeoaia: in cequintin canauhdi, ipan mjzeoaia, yn jmiatzaz, tetentiuh, yn jiauhtzatli.

X 796 [302]

And when this was done, then all went [in procession] together, [that] the feast day might be celebrated. The fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc led the others. He had put on his quetzal and heron feather crown; his face was coated with liquid rubber; [he had] his mist jacket and his rain mask or his Tlaloc mask, which he put on. His long, tangled hair fell to his loins. Behind him followed, chanting, all the [other] priests, and thus they went to the Temple of Tlaloc.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec tenanamjco, ilhujclalo: teiacana in tlalocan tlenamacac, quetzalaxtzocotli, yn onactiuh: yoan mjeolluj yaiauhxicol, iqujiauhxaiac, anoço itlalocaxaiac in conmaquja, ycnitlacaxiuhian vetzi yn ipapa ycampa i caoacatiuj yn jxquichtin tlamacazque, ynic vih yn iteupan tlaloc:

When they reached there, thereupon the fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc placed himself. He spread out all the white reeds and leaves,[28] and cactus leaves, strewn with the sweet-smelling herbs; provided with the sweet-smelling herbs.

yn onacique njman ie ic oonmoquetza, in tlalocan tlenamac, conchaioa in aztapili, yoan in quecquezqujc, yoan nopalli, yiauhtitlan tlaxquilli, tlayiauhujlli:

[413]

Then he placed [upon the mats] four round green stones. And when he had placed them there, then they gave him a small wooden hook, stained blue, wherewith he struck each of the green stone balls. As he went striking [each one], he turned around.

njmā ie contlalia in chalchiuhtelolotli nauhtetl: auh yn ocontlali mec conmaca, quauhchicoloaxtli, tlatzcujlli, ic conujujectiuh, cecentzi in chalchiuhtelolotli: yn jquac quimauujujectiuh, oalmocuepti uh.

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26. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 125) has "*unos . . . hornudo dan Cocóxtle in der Art des Lorenzen Wappens.*"

27. Described in Sahagún, *Historia*, Bustamante ed., Vol. III, p. 170. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 125, n. 1) cites Hernández (*op. cit.*, Bk. III, fol. 117) and defines it as the chichinclutle. Cf. also Cecilio A. Robelo, *Diccionario de Aztequismos* (Cuernavaca: Impresora del Autor, 1904), pp. 543-5.

28. In a description of the Museum and their copies, Sahagún writes: "*Se dan unas hojas anchas las Sacerdotisas y ministros frescas que ponen en su altar, quando es la que dicen quauquiquia*" (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 131). Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 126) calls it *Phyllogonidium*, and cites Hernández's definition as *Sagittae planifolium*.

X 796 Twenty-sixth Chapter in which are related the feast and ceremonies celebrated upon the feast in the seventh month, which was named Tecuilhuitontli.[1]

Tecuilhuitontli: When this feast arrived, they celebrated the minor feast of the lords for twenty days. And at this time died—[for thus] her fate then befell her—at this time died [in sacrifice], a war captive's X 796 death, [she who was the likeness of] Uixtociuatl, 776 god[dess] of those who made salt, the salt-makers. 317 This Uixtociuatl, so it was said, was thought to be the elder sister of the rain gods. And it was thought that the rain gods were her brothers. [In] one thing she angered and offended them, that she mocked at her brothers. And then they pursued their elder sister over to the salt beds. There she discovered salt—how it existed, how it was formed, and how were made the salt jars; and also salty sand.

And, on this account, greatly did men who lived where there was salt pay honor to her.

X 796 And the array of [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl was [303 [thus]: Her [face] paint and ornamentation were 301 yellow. This was of yellow ochre or the [yellow] of maize blossoms.[2] And [she wore] her paper cap with quetzal feathers in the form of a tassel of maize. It was of many quetzal feathers, full of quetzal feathers, so that it was covered with green, streaming down, glistening like precious green feathers.

And [she had] her golden ear plugs. And the golden ear plugs glittered and flashed and were very yellow, like squash blossoms. And her shirt was embroidered[3] to resemble water [waves].[4] And the border of her shirt was as if painted with green stones, designed to represent billowing clouds on the hem [of her shirt]; the edge was painted in a cloud design. And her shirt was designed in the same fashion.

And on her ankles[5] she had placed bells—golden bells—or rattles. On the calf of her leg she had bound an ocelot skin on which were the bells. And when

Juic cipactli on chiquace capitalo, vncan motzoco yn illuiti, yoan in tlamaxiztiliztli, in machiotia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhuitl, ic chicome mextli, in mjtoua: Tecuilhuitontli.

Tecuilhuitontli: yn in qujçaia in machiotia, in tecuilhuitontli, no cempoalilhuitica: auh vncā mjquja, vncan itequjuh vetzia vncan teumjquja in vixtociuatl, yn jxteuh iztatlaca, itzachiuhque.

Inja vixtociuatl, iuh mjtoa qujlmach itvelteuh, catca in tlaloque: yoan qujlmach yioq'chticoan in tlaloque: centlamātli ic quinoqualanj, ic quinielli-tlaco, inca mocaiauh, yn joquichteoan: auh njman ic quiocaque yn itvelteuh vmpa yn iztapan: vmpa quinextiuo yn iztatl, yn juh ioli, yn juh tlacati, yn juh machiotia iztacomjtl, yoan iztaxalli.

Auh ipampa y, cenca quimauiztiliaia yn itzpeneca, yn iztapaltlaca.

Auh in vixtociuatl, yn jnechichioal catca, yn jxaxal, yn jnechioal cuzzic: ichoatl in tecoçauitl anoço tomjoli: yoan yamacal, quetzalmjauiotic, quequetzalo, meca quetzalli, iuhquin xonoqujuj, xonoqujuhtimanj, momeiaca, xexeliuj, iuhquin xonopaleoa, xonoxonja:

yoan yteucujtlanacoch, teucujtlanacoche: auh in teucujtlanacochtli, pepetlaca, pepepetlaca, cenca cuitic, iuhquin xiouchequjlitl: yoan yeppil tlauicujlolli, xycujliuhquj: auh yn itzn yn ivipil, tlachalchiujcujlolli, chalchiujcujliuhquj, tēmixmolonquj, tlatemjxicujlolli: auh yn icue çan ic no iuhquj ynic tlacujlolli,

yoan icxic coatlalia coiolli, teucujtlacoiolli, anoço tzitzilli: itlanitzco in quiipeoia, ocelouatl yn ipan

1. "Primeville de las ceremo," according to Siahagún ("Relación breve," p. 208); "der kleine Herrenfest," or "kleines Herrenfest," in Seler (Einige Kapitel, pp. 130, 131).
Torres describes this month and the next (mostly in the form of questions, in contrast to Sahagún's). Cf. Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 26.
2. In op. cit., p. 131 and p. 131, n. 1, Seler refers to "gelber Pflanzenfarbe." Mixtli, however, is translated by Molina (op. cit.) as "la mazpa y la flor de la caña de mayz."
3. Literally, painted; Sahagún, however, writes "labrada."
4. Cf. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text: also Plate 24.
5. "Las corpanes de las pies," in Sahagún's Spanish. Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 1, n. 9.

she[3] walked, much did she rattle, clink, jingle, and tinkle.

And her sandals, her foam sandals,[6] [had] side pieces. The side pieces were of loose cotton yarn with flecks of raw cotton woven in, put in by hand. And the tassels on the sandals were similarly of loose cotton yarn. And the sandal thongs also were of the same loose cotton yarn.

And her shield had water lilies [and flowers];[7] it was as if painted with a water lily leaf [and flower] design, [or] as if it had [that design], and was hung [also] with yellow parrot feather pendants.[8]

And the yellow parrot feather pendants were made [into tassels] like locust heads[9] [made of] eagle feathers and eagle down, and cut [pieces of] quetzal feathers and trupial[10] [feathers], and the red [and yellow wing feathers of the parrot] named *tzinitzcan*;[11] and the shield [was] rimmed with a circle of yellow parrot feathers.

When she danced, she swung the shield around; it was swung in a circle.

And her reed staff was hung with paper spattered with rubber; it had rubber. In three places it had vase-like flowers, and there in the vase-like flowers was incense. On each of the three were [crossed] feathers; they were provided with [crossed] feathers.

When a dance was held, she walked leaning on it and thrusting it into the ground; she went marking the dance rhythm with it.[12]

And for ten days they sang [and danced] in the manner of women. All gathered together and took their places, the salt people and the salt-makers—the old women, the mature women, the maidens, and maidens recently matured.

While yet there was sun, while it yet shone, then they began to dance. They went arranged in order, each in his place, in rows; they held one another with

moc coiolli: yn iquac nenemj cenca yzaoaca, yzamaca, xaxamaca, tzitzilica, tzitzitzilica, 796x [301]

yoan ycacac ipoçulcac, yn icacnacac, in cacnacaztli, icpatl potonquj inic tlaquijtli, ynjc tlamaiquijtli: auh yn icacxochio, çan no ic in potonquj: auh yn jcacmecaio, çan ie no ic yn potonquj: 796x 292

yoan ichimal atlacueçonaio, tlaatlacueçonanaicujlolli, atlacueçonanjcujliuhquj, toztlapilollo: 796x 293

Auh in toztlapilolli, yn jiacachapullo muchioa, quauhyujtl, quauhtlacotl, yoan quetzalpoztectli, yoan çaquan, yoan xollotl, matlatlauhquj, motocaiotia tezxollotl, tatzcutoio in chimalli. [237]

Jn iquac mjtotiaia, qujmamalacachoa yn jchimal, ic momamana: [535]

yoan yoztopil tlaamaiotilli, haamaio, yoan tlaulhujlli, vllo: excan in tecomaio, tetecomaio: auh yn vncan tetecomaio, vncan mamanj yiauhtli, tziuhtli yn ipan mamantiuh, tzitziuhio: [314]

in iquac mjtotia, ic motlaquechitinemj, qujtitilquetztinemj, ic ontlayiauhtiuh. 796x 535

Auh matlaquijlhujtl, in qujcioapancujcatiaia, ixqujchtin cenquiça, qujcecencaoa yn iztatlaca, yn iztachiuhque: yn jlamatlaca, yoan yn jnjolloco cioa, yoan ichpupuchti, yoan in ie ichpupuchchicacti: [463]

oc vnca in tonatiuh, oc tona in pena mjtotia, tecpantiuj, tetecpantiuj, motecpana, motetecpana mecatica, motocaiotia xochimecatl ynic maana, ynic

6. Cf. ibid., p. 4, n. 22.

7. "Water lilies," in [illegible], op. cit., p. 102. The shield design is the same as for Nappa [illegible] (cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 21). Sahagún's Spanish column reads: [illegible] In Vol. III of the Robredo ed., p. 336, in Dr. Nicolás León's essay, "Ensayo de nomenclatura e identificación de las láminas 90 a 137 (Nos. 368 a 985) del libro XI, de la Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España" escrita por Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún," [illegible]

8. "Otra manera de papagayos llaman toztli [illegible]" (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 165).

9. [illegible] (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). *Chapollin*, however, may be an element in [illegible].

10. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 18, n. 103.

11. "Otra manera de papagayos hay que llaman [illegible]" (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 165).

12. Cf. [illegible]. In Sahagún's corresponding Spanish: [illegible]

1/ [i.e., the god(dess) of the salt-makers, Uixtociuatl. — Analyst]

his vessels. Because verily there was much hunger; when dried maize was costly, then there was much want, [and] it was hard to gain a livelihood; [and] many then were our dead.

And until the time that the Feast Day of the Lords came, upon every day there was song. When singing and dancing began, [it was] toward c.ening, when only little sun shone. Thereupon fire was laid in the braziers; flame was put upon the braziers.

And the braziers were arranged and ordered in six rows, and in each row were ten [braziers] and [each] brazier was two fathoms thick; and each was as tall as one's hip.[1]

And thereupon all went forth from the house of song, coming singing and dancing. Between [pairs of men] came the women. Light women, harlots, chosen —picked out, set apart.

And they went together, they went taking by the hands the honored ones—the young chieftains, the leaders of the young men, and those with shorn hair, the Otomí, and the noblemen [not warriors. These last] were not arranged in order; of their own free will they placed themselves near the others.

And richly were the women arrayed and bedight; all good were the skirts and shirts which they had put on. Of their skirts, some had [designs of] hearts, some were [embroidered] with a mat design like birds' gizzards, some were ornamented like coverlets, some had spiral or leaf [designs], some were of plain, fine weave. All had borders and fringes; all [the women] were skirts with borders.

And of their skirts, some had brown [streamers] hanging, some had smoke symbols, some had black [streamers] hanging, some had house designs, some had fish [patterns], some were of plain, fine weave. And the neck [openings] were all large, and their borders were also deep and wide.

And when they danced, they unbound their hair; their hair covered them like a cloak. But they brought braids of their hair across their foreheads.

And they were not decked with feathers; neither were their faces adorned with paint.

And thus were bedecked the chieftains: their array consisted of the cloak of netting. And the brave warriors, they who had straw lip plugs, they had white net cloaks with shells set in fish patterns. [These] were called their vermilion net cloaks.

1. Cf. [illegible]. Literally, [illegible] may be rendered "two are also [in] in their rankings." For [illegible] Sahagún has "ten armsl."

cenca motlanalois, in jquac cenca tlaçoua in tlaolli, cenca cuel mjhiiovisia, mocuavia: cenca ynic tomjqujan catca. [796' 736]

Auh in jxquichica oalaci tecujlhujtl, isqujlhujtl cujcoia: im pennia cujcoanalitzli, cenca ça achiton ionatiuh, cenca ça pepetzcatica in tonatiuh: njman ic ic tletoco tlaviltec, ipan in tlaviltetl motlatlalia tleti.

Auh in tlaviltetl viuipantoca, tetecpantoca, chiquacempantinca: auh in cempantli, matlatlatetl, actimanca: auh ynjc totomaoac catca tlaujltetl, hoontlacujtlanaoatectli: auh ynjc quaquaubtic catca, cecen quapantli: [37?]

auh in ie ihuquj, mec oalquizoa, in cujcacali, cujcatiujtze, nnjotitlihjtze, intzatzalan actiujtze in cioa: ichoantin in maujlitia, yn aujenjme: ichoantin in tlatzonaoti, in tlapepenti, in tlacenquiztili: [5 48]

auh yn quinnanauiictia, yn inmatitech quimantiuj, çan ichoantin in mauiztilionj in teachcauan, yoan in telpochtequjoaque, yoan in quaquachicti, yn otomj, yoan in pipilti: amo tehoan motecpana, çan jlloclama, incipa onmoquetza tetlas. [302 565]

Auh in cioa uel mocencaoa, vel moiecchichioa, much qualli in conmaquja, yn jncue, yn jvipil: yn incue cequj iollo, cequj tzolitzipetlaio, cequj cacamoliuhquj, cequj ilacatziuhquj, amoço tlatocallotl, cequj çan petztic, muchi teno, muchi tlatenio, muchi cuetenio. [796' 292]

Auh yn izvipil, cequj quappachpipilcac, cequj pocuipilli, cequj pocujpilli, cequj iapalpipilcac, cequj cacallo, cequj mjmjchcho, cequj çan petztic. Auh yn jnnequj much tenoi: yoan yn ixca cenca no papatlaoac, papathectic.

Auh yn iquac mjztia, quiçoua yn jntzon, çan intzon quiçquequetzoua: auh yn jntzon ipiloac, ymixquac quioalhuca. [302]

Auh amo neqetzalja, amoxo mocuaoa.

Auh ynic mochichiltia in teachcauan, yn jnnechichioal catca, ichtuil in cuechindi: auh in tiacauan, in teçacanequc, ymixtzacuechin cilin ynic mjmjchcho, motecuiotia innechpalcuechin. [622] [301 307 701]

And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].

And those who led had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4] And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs, some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangular.

And the youths who already wore [their] hair long [in token of war exploits] had lip plugs which were rounded.

And all the [others] who were only youths [had] only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates made of small, white, sea shells. And those with shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with round pendants.[5] These were shells.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were decked with lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the youths bought themselves real sea shell neck bands, all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands, [which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very costly.

And those who had taken captives, the leaders of the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in the form of birds. They carried them upright over their heads.

And the captains carried upon their shoulders feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot skin. And at the base they were wound in three places with red string.

And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament; some set up the head plumage in bird form; some the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

And thus were they variously painted: Some placed a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek ash vase," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh in inquich tlacatl in çaçan tiiacaoã, telpopuchti: çan tiltic yn jncuethin, muchi tenjzo, yoan muchintin inxiiuh:

auh in tlaiacatia, çan iococoiolnacoch: auh in cocoiolnacoche: auh yn jntenpilol, quinamictia, cequj aujtlaxtli, cequj itzcujntenpilolli, cequj apatlactli, anoço tlaxtantectli.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzotzocoleque, ymachichilacachtempilol:

auh yn inquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan iehoatl yn aianaltempilolli in contlalia.

Auh in teachcaoan, ymelpancuzquj, ymeelpancuzquj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn otomj, incuzcachachapac: iehoatl in chipulin.

Auh yn quaquachicti qujnamjctia, iehoatl in tzotentpilolli: auh yn otomj qujnamjctiaia, iehoatl yn apatlactli tenpilolli.

Auh yn aquiqque in mococenmati, in tiacaoan, qujmococouja teuchipuli in cuzcotl, cenca chipaoac: auh in ça tlatzacuja in ça tlatoqualia, iehoatl yn achipulin qujmococoujaia, yn incuzquj, çan cuztic, amono tlaquaoac, amono cenca patio.

Auh in tlamanjnac, in telpuchiaque, intototlamanal, in cõquequetztinemj yn imicpac.

Auh in tequjoaque, quauhtzontli in qujmamaia, excan yietiuh, quauhtlalpilonj, occuecuexica in tlaqujmilolli: auh in itzintlã excan in chichilicpatica tlacujxtli.

Auh in cequjntin, xiloxochiquetzalli in conquetza in cequjntin aztaxelli, in cequjntin quatotol in conquetza, in cequjnti yntlatlachichioalquetzal.

Auh yn imicxic ymopuchcopa in cõtlalisia chocholli, vel iehoatl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaio, çan no iehoatl yn maçacoatl, tlapitzaoacatectli, tlapitzaoacaxotlalli.

Auh ynic mjchioaia, mjiec tlamantli, cequjtin tilli incamapan contlalisia, itoca tilcamanexcomjtl, ca petzujaia: auh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in tilli, in nacaztitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tliltzotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, *latonjas* translates *copper*, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Seler (op. cit., p. 144) has *dreie Perlenschlossel für pyramidenförmiger*.

They said unto him:
"Go, my friend! Though thou art a brave man, a warrior, how may we care about thee? Wherever our foes come rising against us, may we die as brave men!"

And these were the words which they said unto him; and much else besides.

And thereafter, when they had cast him out, he slowly crept away, going backwards and on all fours, lamenting as he went. Thus he went off, nevermore to sing and dance with the others.

And the matrons cast out the woman. Nevermore would she take up the song and dance with the others. Nevermore would she clasp hands with the others [in dance]. Thus they dismissed her; the leaders of the maidens cast her out forever.

And the woman who had sinned evermore went alone. Never might she hope once again to sing and to dance with the others.

And the one whom they had punished because of the woman, then married her, and quieted the affair with her.

And before the real feast came which they called Uei tecuilhuitl, on the tenth day, when the woman [who was the likeness of] Xilonen died, her face was painted in two colors. Thus she was stained yellow about her lips, and her forehead *chili*-red. From her paper cap, which had four corners, hung quetzal feathers in the form of maize tassels; and [she wore] a wide neck band. Her neck piece consisted of many strings of turquoise. She wore a golden disc, as breast ornament. Her shirt and skirt had the water lily [flower and leaf design]. She wore princely sandals, carmine-colored sandals. Her shield and her rattle stick were *chili*-red. In the four directions she entered, or went down into, the sand.[7]

For this reason was it said, "She goeth into the sand": in this way she foretold her death—that on the morrow she would die.

She began the feast day when she entered Tetamaçolco. The second place where we went to arrive, we reached [to accomplish the ceremony], and it was a place named Necoquiaxcan. The third place in which she entered [the sand] was Atenchicalcan, and for this reason was it called Atenchicalcan—that here gushed forth the water, and also here faded away the

qujlhuja,
Xiiauh nocne aço toqujchtli, aço titiiacauh, quen timitztocujtlauja: çaçocan techquetzaqujuh in toiaouh, maça toqujch miqujcâ:

yoan in tlatolli qujlhujaia, vel oc mjec.

Auh yno ica oalmaiauhque, ça iaiatiuh, chichicoeoatiuh, ça xonauhtiuh, tĕtentiuh, ic centlatlalcauja, aoqujc teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in cioatl çan qujtotoca, in cioatetiachcauh: aoqujc no teoâ cujcoianoz, aoqujc no tenaoaz, ic qujcennaoatia, qujcennacaoa, yn ichpuchtlaiacanquj.

Auh in cioatl yn otlatlaco, iccenmaian tlatlalcauja, aoq'c ceppa motemachiz, yn oc ceppa teoan cujcoanoz.
Auh in ichoatl yn otlatzacujltiloc, yn ipampa cioatl, njman ic qujmocioacatia, qujiauccujlia.

Auh yn iamo aci in iquac ie uel ilhujtl, yn motenecoa vei tecujlhujtl, yn iquac tlamatlacti, iquac miquja, in xilonen cioatl, michchictlapan, ynic michiuh yn itĕco cortic, auh yn izquac chichiltic: yiamacal nauhcampa nacace, quetzalmjiaoaio, coxcapetlatl: yn icoxquj chalchiujtl miecpantli, teucujtlacomalli yn ipan mantiuh, yiazochiavipil yoan yazochiacue yhitzcac, ynochpalcac: yn ichimal yoâ yn ichicaoaz chichiltic, nauhcampa yn aquja anoço xalaquja:

ynic mjtoa xalaquj, ic qujmachiltia yn jmjquiz, in miquiz miuztla:

in cemilhujtl conpeoaltia yn aquj, tetamaçolco, ynic vccan vncan in taciticatcan, tacito: yoan itocaiocan necoquizecan: ynjc excan vncan yn aquja, yn atenchicalcan, ynic motenecoa atenchicalcan, ca vncan, oalcholeoia yn atl, yoan no vncan oalpopoliujaia yn

796[x]
684
836

796[x]
[302]
301

[292
293]

796[x]

796[x]
805

7. Burning the sand was evidently a ceremony literally enacted, and begun in view of the audience of the deities whose festivities were honored by it. The explanation in both Sahagún's Spanish text and the Aztec columns is not explicit. The four places to which Xilonen entered the sand may be identified in modern Mexico City and are mentioned with water and sand. *Aquja* is probably an assimilation of *aoquja*.—Angel Maria Garibay, personal communication.

wind. And the fourth place which she entered was over there at Xolloco. [And] there she stopped.

[For] these were a part of, and carried together, the four year-bearers—Reed, Flint, House, and Rabbit. Thus do the year-bearers go describing circles, whirling around [as a measure of time].

When, at early dawn, Xilonen was to die, all during the night songs were sung after the manner of the women. Vigil was kept. Everyone passed the night watching; they slept not; the women remained sleepless. They sang the songs [of Xilonen].

And when day broke, then began the dancing. Verily, everyone—the leaders of the youths, the leading warriors, and the valiant warriors bore maize stalks. These were named "bird banners."

Likewise the women danced—those who were with Xilonen. They were pasted with red feathers. And their faces were painted with yellow ochre. Also they colored their faces in two colors: about their lips they were yellow with ochre, and their foreheads were stained with the red of anatta seeds.[9] [They bore] their wreaths of flowers upon their heads, and the leaders had garlands of the yellow flowers of the *Cacaphillus mexicanus* [about their necks].[9]

These women were known as priestesses. They mingled not with the men, but remained at one side. They were describing circles, and enclosing Xilonen. They sang for her after the manner of women. These women were called "the hanging gourd."

And the warriors danced before [Xilonen], following a serpentine course.

And for this reason were [the women] known as "the hanging gourd": the two-toned wooden drum, which they beat as they went, had tied to it a gourd, which was under the drum, which looked as if it were hanging beneath. They who struck the two-toned drum went carrying a little drum under their arms, which they beat, as they went, with rubber-tipped drum sticks.[10]

And the priest, [who] attended them, went blowing horns; they blew shell trumpets as they went. And they went strewing, scattering, and casting incense as they went to meet Xilonen.

And the fire priest, who was to slay [Xilonen] as

ecatl: ynic nauhcan aquja, vmpa xolloco, vmpa ontzonquiçaia,

çã quiytocaia, çan quiyeyalcaia, yn nauhtetl xiuhtonalli: yn acatl, in tecpatl, in calli, in tochtli, ynic tlaiaoalotiuh, ynic momalacachotiuh, in xiuhtonalli.

In ie iuh iontzinco miqui in Xilonen: ceiooal in cieapan cuiooia, toçoonia, muchi tlacatl intoçoonia, amo cochia, mocochiçoloonia in cioa, quecoia quevilaia yn icuic.

Auh yn ie otlamic, njman ic peoa in netotil[9], vel itquich tlacatl in tlachcaoan, in telpopochti, yn iiaque, yoan in tequioaque, incicintopil: ynin motocaiotia totopanjtl.

No mjtotia in cioa, yn itechpouja in xilonen, mopopotonjaia tlapaliuitica: yoan mextaoaia tetoçauhtica: no ic quiçotona, yn inxuiac, yn jntenco, tecoçauhtica: auh yn imixquac tlapalachiotica, ymjicpactochiuh, inxuchicuzquj cempoalxuchitl yiacatiuh.

Yn ieiho yn, cioa, moteneoa cioatlamacazque, amo quimonnciooa yn oquichti, çan nonqua mantiuj, cololujtiuj, quitepeuitiuj in Xilonen: quiciaoaçacujcatitiuj: in ieheantin y, cioa moteneoa tecomapiloca.

Auh in tlachcaoan ixpan mjtoltiuj, mococolotiuj:

auh ynic moteneoa tecomapiloca, ca in teponaztli in qujujtectiuj, itech çaliuhtiuh in stecomatl, yhicampa iteputzco ietiuh in teponaztli, iuhqujn pilcatiuh ic neci: in teponaçoa çan quiciacaujtiuh in teponaztontli in qujujtectiuh olmatica.

Auh in tlamacazque, tenanamjquj tlapiztiuj, teccistli in quipiztiuj: yoan yn iauhtextli in quipipiztiuj, quicecenmatiuj, quitetepeuhtiuj, conjxnamjctiuj in Xilonen.

Auh in tlenamacac, in tlamjctiz, vel mocencaoa,

8. *Bixa orellana L.*, the annatto shrub (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 6). Cf. also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

9. "Estas flores que se llaman comunmente *toli*, son *semejantes a las de Jazmin olor*" (Sahagún *ed.*, Vol. III, p. 271). Thomas, in Sahagún, *loc. cit.* See also p. 86, n. 15.

10. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93, n. 2), writing of the *chronometer ceremonies* (dancing priests), says "The player is called the *teponazqui*, and the drum, *teponaztli*. Made from the hollowed-out trunk of the *Lonicera involucrata* Banks, this drum has two tones; the rubber-headed drum-sticks are of elder." Cf. also Sahagún's description of the tongue on the bottom (corresponding figurals tree).

an offering, was richly arrayed and adorned. He bore an eagle claw device upon his back, which was surrounded by quetzal feathers. His holder was of eagle down in which were quetzal feathers. His flint knife was of gold. He carried a rosette on his back, which was made of paper, etc.

A man [priest] carried the mist rattle board upon his shoulder; he rattled it in three places. And when they had come to the place where Xilonen was to die, then the fire priest came to receive her. Before her he set up the rattle board, and rattled it, and with incense went forth to receive her, and cast it toward her.

And then they took her up to the Temple of Cinteotl. First they laid her upon the back [of a priest] —not upon the offering stone, but rather she died upon [a priest's] back. And those who died upon [a priest's] back, they called "those who have backs."

Thereupon she met her fate and [the sacrificing priest] severed her head. When she had [thus] suffered, when he had slain her, then he grasped her heart and planted it in the blue vessel. They who were well experienced knew where they cast it, where they required it.

And then all ate, for the first time, *tortillas* of green maize. For the first time the cane of green corn was o[illegible]ered and for the first time chewed, and likewise amaranth greens were newly cooked and once more the sweetness of flowers—the *Caryophillus mexicanus* and tobacco flowers [—was smelled].

And at the Feast of the Great Lords, there was a dance which was the particular function of the women—old women, young women, mature women, little girls. The maidens, who had looked upon no man, were adorned with feathers and their faces were stained with paint.

Everyone made plain *tamales* and fruit *tamales* for themselves; they offered them as gifts to their gods.

And of the old men and the old women it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine. Never did a youth, a maiden, or a priest drink wine.

And if anyone was noted, great pains were taken that he be seized and put in jail, in the granary.[11] They all held council what might be done about it, and whether, perchance, they would punish him. [Evidence] was weighed; all discussed [his crime]. They determined whether [they would] show mercy; and if [they would] not show mercy, he was

11. See Plate 37.

muchichioa, quauhiztitl in quimama, quetzalli ynic moiaoatiuh, quimoloctli, yn itecomaio ietiuh quetzalli cuztic teucujtlatl yn itecpaio ietiuh, ytlaquechpaniouh ietiuh, amatl in tlachuhtli, etc.

Ce tlacatl quiquechpanoa, in aiochicaoaztli, excan in cacalaca: auh yn oacito yn vncan miquiz xilonẽ, njman quioalnamjquj in tlenamacac, ixpan quioaltilquetza in chicaoaztli, quicacalatza: yoan yiauhtli ic quioalnamiquj, yuicpa quioalchaiaoa.

Auh ie ic contlecauja in cinteupan, çatepan conteca in tecujtlapan, amo techcac, çan tecujtlapan in mjquja: auh yn icujtlapan mjcoaia, motocaiotia tepotzna:

njman ie ic tlacoti, quiquechtoquj, yn otlacotic, yn ocontlatlatique, njman ie ic conanjlia yn iiollo, xoxouhquj xicalco quioallalia: iehoã quimati in machiceque catca in campa quitlalia, in campa quinequja.

Yoan iquac iancujcan qualoia, in xilotlaxcalli: iancujcan tlamanalo, iancujcan moquaquaia in oogtl: yoan iancujcan moponoci in ouhquiltl, yoan iancujcan ynecu in suchitl, in cempoalsuchitl, in jesuchitl.

Auh yn iquac in vei tecujlhujtl nenoiloia, çan inneixcuujl in cioa, yn jlamatque, yn ichpoçpochti, yn iniolloco cioa cioapipiltotonti: in ichpopochti yn aiacan qujtta oquichtli, mopotonjaia, moxoqia.

Inqujch tlacatl motamaluja monocotomalujaia: quiotladamanjliaia, in intevoan.

Auh in uenerque, yoan in jlamatque, çan inneixcuujl catca in tlaoanaia: çan njmã niac tlaoanaia in telpuchtli, in tlamacazquj, yn ichpuchtli.

Auh inda aca, oimoc, vel iujuj ic oanoc, quauhcalco tlalilo, petlacalco: ipan nemonoçalo in tlein ipan mochioaz, yn aço quiçacuztiaz nectitilo, neixpãtitilo: quipantia intla ie ynemac: auh intlacamo ie ynemac,

X 796 And after that it was quickly lifted upright. Much did the earth stir, move, and swirl. Upon this, they 778 cast stones in [the hole]—all these round rocks—throwing in large stones, pouring them in. And when [the space] was filled with stones, then it was covered with earth. Thereupon each went to his house; all was quiet and calm.

X 796 And thereafter came out the captors [with] their captives, who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] 302 were well arrayed and adorned. They were painted with yellow ochre; their faces were stained 237 red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices made of red arara feathers. And their shields [were 293 decorated with] lower legs[7]—those of either eagles or ocelots. These were designed on this shield in feathers. Hence were these named "shields with legs."

535 And so they went dancing with the captives; they went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into the fire, also danced. They covered their bodies with 30 white clay; they had paper breech clouts and paper 302 shoulder mufflers; then they had their paper wigs, and 292 they decked their heads with feathers. They had feather lip plugs; they were stained bright red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of the eyes.

And when the sun set, then it all ceased, and they shut the captives in. And the captors departed. There in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.[8]

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men, those of the tribal temple, to which they belonged, departed. And when they ended the vigil, it was midnight, in the deep of night, when night divided in half.

302 After that the captors then took [some of the captives'] hair; they took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads—a little of the captives' hair, [which] they cut from the crowns of their heads. They bound the ends [of the locks of hair] with bright red thread, 413 to which were attached two heron feathers, forked. And the obsidian knife with which they cut the hair they named the "falcon nail."

415 After they had taken [the hair], then they put it into a small, woven reed basket, called the "hair basket." This hair basket the captor carried to his

7. Literally, knee. Sahagún illustrates, however, another interpretation of this.
8. The manuscript suggests a distinction between *chimaltecas* and *otomíes*.

auh in ic inhuqui onmoquetzitiveni, vel tecuiui in tlalli, vel oiniui, yoli cuiuiui: in ic ihuqui, niman ic ic quiiectema: mochi ichtaui in tealalli, in vevei tetl conmaia, conteputa: auh in omotetza, niman ic ic motlalpachoa in panj, niman ie ic viviloa, cacalaca, cactiveni, cactinomaca.

Auh niman ie ic valquiça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlaque, vel mocmcaoa, mochichioa, motococuhltia, mjztlapalhuja, in quimama tlavintli, papalotl: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoli in ichimal tetepontli, aço quauhicxitl, anoço ocelomatetepontli, in vncã chimalpan icujlinhtica, hivitica: ic motencoa in chimalli, tetepontli:

ic mjtotitivi, momalinotitivi, momamãtivi: ic vmpatitivi in mamalti in motlepantlaçaque, no mjtotitivi, quiotiçavia, imaxamaxtli, imamanecapanal, niman ie imamatzon, quinquapotonja; imivitençac, motenchichiloa, mjztentlilcomoloa.

Auh in cocalac tonatiuh: niman ie ic mocacaoa, quincalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan onmotlalia in maleque, quinpia in immalhoan.

Auh in pena in quiatoçavia, ie tlaquauhiova in quiça: ichoantia in calpolvevetque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetoçavia, iovalnepantla, iovalli itic, ioalli xclivi:

in ic inhuqui, niman ie ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: quiiatzoncuj in mamalti, inquanepantla, aquiton intzo in mamalti, quiatequjlia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica quicuitlalpia, aztatl itech ca, vme, mamaltic: auh in jxtli inic quixoquja intzon: quixocaiotinia, itxtlotli:

in ic juhquj in ococuiqque, niman ic cõtema petlacaltonco, iaoca: tzonpetlacalli: inin tzonpetlacalli, quivica in jchan tlamanj, aco quipilos, ic monextia in

at [the village of] Uitzilopochco. It was there at the [spring called] Uitzilatl, in a cave. With cypress[4] branches they stopped [the mouths of the jars] as they went. They proceeded bearing [the water] with them.

When they had taken [the water] hence, they thereupon sprinkled it upon [the victims], there at the foot [of the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And there they gave [the victims] their paper vestments, their paper adornment, in which they were to die. And they painted them with stripes, in blue, from their feet up to their knees; and from their hands up to their elbows. And their faces they stained in horizontal stripes of alternate colors, light blue and yellow.[5] And they inserted nose plugs made of an arrow and a half disc.

And when it was so done, when they had adorned them, whom they had prepared them, then [the fathers, they who owned the slaves,] took them to the tribal temple, but they came hence quickly. Thereupon each [owner of a victim] went to his house [with his slaves]. There they took apart and set down [the victims'] array, placing [their ornaments] in palm leaf baskets for them. And there, together, [the owners] began the singing and dancing, going in company with their women.

And when they had come to the fifth day [before the feast], then they who owned the slaves[6] and the old men of the tribal temple began a fast. They ate only at midday,[7] and bathed themselves at midnight. Having bathed there at the cloud house, they then departed from the tribal temple.

And the woman who was to bathe [the slaves] bathed herself at the water's edge. She set up one thorn, stained with blood, on the bank. And when the four days of fasting ended, then at nightfall the serpent dance was danced. The bathed victims danced the serpent dance, as well as their owners, who had bathed them, and those who were to seize them, and those who were to bring them down [from the temple, when they were slain], and those who

vmpan ca vitzilatl, ontoc, auevetica in quioaltzatzacutivi, intlan quioalaantivi: 796x 778

in oquioalhuicaque: njman ic ic quimatzelhuja, vncan in jcxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, yoan vncan quinmamaca in jmamatlatquj, in jmamanecchichioal in jpan mjqujaque, yoan quinteso vavana in imjcxic, inmetzpan tlatlamj, yoan in inma, imacolpã tlatlamj: yoã imjxtlan tlatlaana, ic tlatlapantiuh in tetzõtli, in coetic, yoan quimontlalilia iacapilolli, mjtl muchioa, yoan anecuioti. 796x 302 [301]

Auh in ie iuhquj in oquimõchichiuhque, in oquimõcencauhque, njman ic quinvivica in incacalpulco, çan oalquiquiztiquiça, njmã ie ic vivi in inchachan tealtique, vmpa quinxixitinja, quinitlatlalilia in intlatquj, quimõtanatemjlia. Auh vncan in teoan compeoaltia in cujcoianoa, quinvivicativi in incioaoan. 796x 567

Auh in oacic, vncã tlamacujlti: njmã vncã compeoaltia in moçaoaia tealtique, yoan in calpulvevetque: tlacatlaquaia, yoan maltiaia in ioalnepantla: vmpã aiauhcalco in ommaltiaia, vncan oncoa in calpulco. [515]

Auh in cioatl tealtia, çan vncã in jatenco ommaltia: ce vitztli cõquetza atenco ezço: auh in otzõquiznavilhujtl, injc moçaoa: njmã ic oaliova in coanecujlolo, coanecujloa in tlaaltitlti, yoã in tealtique, yoan in teançoe yoan in tetemovique, yoã im panco- [535]

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que quiere decir, lanzón, porque los lanzan y regalan para que engendremos, para que se curen [unos niños cuando los lanzones de master y amor; cumpliendose estos cuidados en Atemporamiento; porque allí habia fiesta de niños y allí los mandan los que tuvieron en cuidado."

The Real Palacio MS (Quiñones, op. cit., p. 317) reads: "Auh iuic ontoc tzatzacuj in ixcuitl tzatzitzic ynic ixquich cenca compatlihuiz"—"y es dice el que habia gente porque y se cortaron siempre la barbas con agua caliente, cada vez de los veinte dias."

4. Tobar (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 39) calls *ahuehuetl* evening cypress (an evidence of kingly power). In Ixhuiquilo (Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 332) it is defined as *Taxodium mexicanum Tenz.* the corresponding Spanish text has "*ciprés de cedro*," line 1. Ignacio Dávila Garibi, *Apéndice de voces nahuas* (Méjico: Editorial Cultura, T. G., S. A., 1949), Vol. I, pp. 1568, for some notes on the etymology of *ahuehuetl*.

5. Tobar, in *Codex Vaticanus 3773* (Codex Vaticanus B) (Berlin: Druck von Gebr. Unger, 1902), p. 4, describes this face painting (*codex Ambrosianus* or *Cortesio* in *Quetzalcoatl*). The colors, although of different color, are characteristic of Tezcatlipoca.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*dueños de los esclavos.*"

7. "*Ayunaban el medio dia*" (loc. cit.): "*He ayuno (por ahuno) en Tuge (por Mitnig)*"—Tobar, *Manjar Espiritual*, p. 384; "*comida a medio*" (Garibay, op. cit., p. 102).

work which they made.[6] They put upon it a mask made of [a mosaic of bits of] shell. The lower part of the face was blackened, made black with black stones called *teostetl*. And they striped the face horizontally with black mirror stones.

And upon his head they fitted a ball of yellow parrot feathers; the device for the back of his head, made of precious feathers, served as the lock of hair of the back of his head. And they set upon him his flame headdress, made of feathers from the neck of an eagle.[6] This glowed, and [it had] plucked [single] arara feathers set in order.[7] When he put it on, it appeared in truth to flare up. And his vestments were made only of arara feathers—a red arara feather cape, which trailed long.

And they laid before him *tortillas* made of uncooked, ground maize,[8] or small *tortillas*. They ground the maize. And when it was [ground to a] flour, then they mixed hot water with it, and afterwards it was sweetened. Then, they offered the *tortillas*, some [of which] had shelled beans, cooked, not raw.

And when they had set Milintoc in place, then severally all the common folk made offerings before him, coming together each with five [*tortillas*]. A great quantity of small *tortillas* were heaped up before him.

Similarly the youths and small boys were ranged in order; they hung on sticks the serpents and all the small animals, as hath been said. They offered them to the old men, and the old men cast them into the fire. And the quite small serpents and the other quite small animals burned up and charred. And the well-grown serpents, when they had been roasted, they went to take out, casting them forth upon the hearth. There they were piled up. Later, the old men of the tribal temple ate them.

And the youths and small boys then came forth, and they offered each of them a small *tortilla*. Then they departed. And after this the small *tortillas* were eaten.

Thereupon [all] were refreshed [with wine]; the old men refreshed themselves there at the Temple, the tribal shrine, of Milintoc. And the wine makers, those whose office it was to make wine, left with

muchioa, ichoatl in tlilti ttl, motocaiotiaia teuteel, yoan iztlan tlatlaan, tezcapoctli ica:

auh in conaquja itzontecon, ichoatl in tuzpololli in jcuexpal muchiuhtica, tziuhtli in tlachioalli, itziuhcuexpal, yoan contecatica itlachinolsuchiuh, totolquechtapalcatl in tlachioalli: ichoatl in juhquj xoxotla, yoan cueçalin in tlaxconolli: yoan tlavipantli: in jquac conteca iuhqujn ma nelli tlatlatoc: auh in jtlaquē çā no cueçalin in tlachioalli, cueçalquemjtl, no veca vilantoc.

Auh ixpan qujmanaia vilocpalli, anoço macuextlaxcalli: tlaolli in qujteci: auh in ie iotextli, njmā catotonjlpachoa, çatepan tzopelia: njmā ic qujmana in tlaxcalli, cequj tlaoio, epaoxxtlaoio, amo xoxouhcatlaoio.

Auh in oqujtlalique Milintoc, mec tlamanalo ixpan, ceceniaca in maceoalti, ceniauh in mamacujlli, ixachi in jxpā motepeuhtitlalia, macuextlaxcalli:

auh çan no ivi in motecpana in telpopochti, in pipiltotonti, quauhtitech qujnpipiloa in cocoa, yoan in jxqujch omjto in ioiolime: qujmonmacatimanj, in vevetque: auh in vevetque, tleco qujmōmaiauhtimanj: auh in çan tepitoton cocoa, yoan in oc cequjntin çan tepitoton in ioiolitoton, vel tlatla, tecoltia: auh in veveintin cocoa, in ōmoxcaque, qujmonantivi, tlecujllan qujnoallaxtimanj, vncā motepeuhtitlalia, çatepan qujnqua in calpulhuevetque.

Auh in telpopochtin, in pipiltotonti, ic oalqujztimanj, cecen qujnoalmacatimanj, in macuextlaxcalli: njmā ic vivi. Auh in ie iuhquj in onqualoc, macuextlaxcalli:

njmā ie ic tezcalcevilo, tezcalcevia in vevetque in vncan iteupan, in jcalpolco Milintoc. Auh in tlachicque, in tecutlachicque, qujoalcaoa cecen caxitl in vctli, anoço cecen xicalli, anoço cecem apiloltepitotō,

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*hazian esto con, conmo del dios, del hego, de pellejo y cirvales cosidos, como con otros. . . .*"
6. *Tzonjquechtapalcatl*: in Lib. XI, Cap. i, §4 (Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 181), Sahagún says of the Mexicans *ençima, "los plumos del cuello y de las hasas, hasta la cola, eso de hechuras de cresmeles (y) Mixcoatles tapalcatl. . . ."*
7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*y entrepuestas unas pennillas de plumas galanas, que parecian unos pennillas de infantes.*"
8. *Vilocpalli*: "*unas masmorras de tortas que llaman vilocpalli, de maiz cocido, harinar no cozer. . . .*" (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. II, p. 386).

And they fastened the new

with a rope about the waist, and [guards] held them tightly [with it] when they [went forth to] urinate. And when it was midnight, then hair was cut from the [crowns of] the heads of all of them; they cut their hair as hath been told and published. And when their hair had been cut, then feathers were pasted [to their heads], and also they pasted feathers [to the heads of] the women. And, as during the night, none of the guards might sleep by day.[10]

And when day began to break and it grew bright, thereupon (as hath been told) were burned the [bathed ones' raiment]; when these were burned, then once more they entered indoors. And some did not burn their belongings, but offered and gave them to others.

And when it dawned [again], then all were once more adorned. Thereupon they went to the place where they were to die; they went ordered in rows. When they reached where they were to die, then they danced and sang spiritedly. It was said that [they sang until] their voices cracked; that they were hoarse.

And when the sun had passed the zenith, then descended [he who was adorned in the likeness of] Paynal. He led and was first among the captives, who would become the fundament [of the ceremonially bathed victims]. When the captives died, then [they slew] the ceremonially bathed ones, who [were adorned in the likeness of] Izcoçauhqui.

And when they had completely ended the slaying, when it was so, [then] all the chiefs and lords, who were men due great reverence, were ready, and stood waiting in complete array. Moctezuma led them. He had put on the turquoise diadem, the royal diadem.

And all put on their turquoise nose plugs and [their] turquoise ear pendants, [made of] fine turquoise. And some [had] only [ear pendants] made of wood and painted like turquoise. And they put on their sleeveless jackets and turquoise [blue] waist bands well ornamented, and the Xolotl jewel which had the form of a dog. [It was] made of paper and painted turquoise [blue]. And [they put on] breech clouts of paper painted with black stripes. And these were painted only with black.

And in their hands were staves, which were small and shaped like weaving sticks and painted in two colors—red above and chalky white below. In either

ic tetzoncujoa, quintzoncuj: in juh omjto, in juh omotenculi: auh in ontetzoncujoac: njmā ie ic tepotonjlo, no quinpotonja in cioa: auh in juh ceiooal, aocac ma ontlacacochi in tlapixque. 796r [514]

Auh in otlavizcalli moquetz, in ie tlatlalchipaoa: njmā ie ic motlatlatlatilia (in juh omjto) in ommotlatlatlatilique: njmā ie ic no ceppa calaquj in inician: auh in aca ąmo quimotlatlatilia in jaxca, çan quitetlauhtia, çan quitemamaca.

Auh in otlatvic, njmā ic no ceppa techichioalo: njmā ie ic vi in vmpa mjquixque, motecpana: in onacique vmpa mjquixque: njmā ie ic mjtotia, mocujca ellaquaoa: omach intzquitzatzaiin, omach ihiçaoacaque: [593]

Auh in ie ommotzcaloa tonatiuh; njmā ie ic oaltemo in Paynal, quinoaliacana, iacattivi in mamalti, in impepechoan muchioa: in ommjcque mamalti: njmā ichoā in tlaaltilti in izcoçauhq̄.

Auh in ocentlanque mjquj in ie iuhquj: auh in jzquichtin tlatoque, in tetecutin in cenca maviztililonj, ie ic manj, ça quichixtimanj omocencauhq̄, quinjacana in Motecuçoma: ocontlali xiuhvitzolli, in tlaocaiotl: 796r 301 [643]

yoan cootlalia iacxivid in muchinti, yoā conaquja xiuhnacochtli, vel xivitl. Auh in cequjntin çan quavitl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli yoan cēmaquja xicolli, xiuhtialpilli, vel tlaiecchioalli, yoā in xolocoxquj iuhquin chichitzo ic ietiuh; amatl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli, yoan inmamaxtli, acaxilquj inic tlacujlolli: auh çan tlilli inic tlacujlolli.

Auh in inmac onotinh quavitl, çan tepitzteo tlatzotzopaztectli, chictlapilquj; in ixo chichiltic, auh 796r 293 [386]

10. "He spoke twice unto Arevalo" seems to be the corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*. See, however, Angel María Garibay K.: "Pandejabanse de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, Vol. II (1946), p. 171, for a discussion of these interpolations.

[796 548] when he had been living in the likeness of another, had walked with head high, had lived as a captive, had been drunk, and had gone in high esteem.

oquetztinĕca otlamattinenca, omjvintitinĕca omoveliztinenca.

And for this reason was [the month] named "Izcalli hath ended": all the small children, all of them they took up and lifted by the neck. For it was said, [827] they [thus] grasped them that they might grow; thus they would speedily grow tall; they would wax great and strong.

Auh injc mjtoa Jzcalli, tlami yn izquichtin pipiltotonti, muchintin qujnquechaana, qujmacopiloa: ic mjtoa qujmizcalloana, qujmizcalaana, ynic iciuhca quaquauhtiezque, manazque, mooapaoazque:

And they divided the heart of the *magucy* plants; [824] they broke, peeled, and opened it. And they cleaned the cactus and pruned its branches, because thus it would quickly be given new life and growth.

yoā in metl qujiolloxeloa, qujiollotzaiana, qujiollotlapana, qujiollotoma: auh yn nopalli qujtlaiectilia, qujmatepeoa, ipampa ynic iciuhca manaz, moxcaltiz, mooapaoaz.

And at this [feast of] Izcalli, there also came to pass, every four years, the bringing out of the children and the drinking of wine by the children. And then the chiefs danced a lordly dance, along with their courtiers. And they put on their wigs of hair; in truth they were head pieces made of long hair and [301] covered with green stone. [The hair] fell, verily, to the chiefs' waists.

796 852

Auh yn ipan y, Izcalli, no vncan muchioaia, ynic nauhxiuhtica nepilquixtiloia, pillaoanoia: yoan vncan motecujtotiaia in tlatoque, yoan yn inpillooan: yoan contlaliaia yntzonpilinal, centlamantli, tzoncalli catca, viiac in tzontli ic tlachioalli, qujchachalchiuhiotiaia, vel incujtlacaxxiuhiā vetzia in tlatoque.

And for this reason one said that the children were brought forth: the fathers and mothers of all the small children first sought out those who would bring them to the priests' dwelling, a place named Tezcacoac—a woman and a man whom they invited. [608] It was said that they were to be uncles and aunts [of the children]; they became uncles and aunts [for them].

Auh ynic mjtoa nepilquixtilo, yn jzquichtin pipiltotonti, yn jntahoan, yti jnnahoan, achtopa qujntemoliaia, in qujnvicaxque calmecac, itocaiocan tezcacoac ce cioatl, ce oquichtli in qujnotzaia, mjtoa: qujntlatia qujmavitia, tetlati, teaviti:

And not their kin did they take; they secured only their friends, whom they chose and to whom they [431] gave gifts. They laid out capes and breech clouts for us men. Likewise, for a woman they laid out her skirt and shirt.

auh amo inoaniolque in qujmanaia, çan incoapan intlaanaia, in tlapepenaia, qujntlauhtiaia: tilmatli, maxtlatl, contlaliliaia in toqujchtin: no ivi in cioatl, icue, ivipil contlalilia

At midnight they took [the children] to the priests' [304] dwelling. There they pierced and drilled their ears. [And the children] cried out [as] the pointed bone pierced their ears. They drew through a thread of unspun cotton, and bound it to them, as the little ones cried out and squirmed, and shed tears. And [302 237] they pasted upon their heads yellow macaw feathers and soft down.

ioalnepantla in qujnvicaia calmecac, vmpa qujnnacaxxapotla, qujnnacaxcoionja pipiltzcatiuh in omjtl injc qujcoionja innacaz, potonquj icpatl in vmpa conqujxtia, vncā qujmonjlpilia iuhqujn tlatzatzitlcoa, tlatzatzatzi, tlachoqujztleoa in pipiltzitziati, yoan tocivitica tlachcaiotica qujnpotonjaia in jmjopac:

And the women who became aunts were pasted [608 302] with red feathers, but only upon the legs and arms, and they covered themselves with their paper flowers, which were called their noble flowers.

auh in teaviti cioa, çanjo imjcxic, yoā inmac in mopotonjaia tlapalivitica, yoan imamaxochiuh cantecativia: mjtoa, intecuxochiuh.

When they had pierced [the children's] ears, then they took them to their homes. Here they sat attending them; they sat in vigil, awake, [thus] remaining

In jquac oqujmōnacaxxapotlaque, njmā ic quinoalhujnjca in inchachan, vncan qujchieltitoque izcoçotoque, toçotoque tlatlaviltiteque, qujchixtoque in

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[701]

beareth a staff. For also [in times past] they had staves; and formerly these [officers] seized one and thrust one in jail.

pil catca, yoan in ça ie ichoantin in onteilpiaia, in quauhcalco ontetlaliaia,

These were all the honors and preferments which the youths [could obtain].

yzquich y, in jnpauetziliz, in inpauechiliz in telpupuchti.

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And in this way of life, few showed understanding and were persevering. Without number were those who were known as young [warriors]. Because in truth the life of the youth was not harsh. For when yet small boys they all slept together in that place which they called the young men's house, where they lived all together.

auh injn nemiliztli amo çan quexquichtin in ipan nenca, in ipan mouapaoaia, amo çã tlapoalti in motocaiotiaia telpupuchti, ipampa ca çan njmã amo tecoco in jnnemiliz in telpupuchti, ca in oc pipiltototi, vncan cencochi in quilhuja telpuchcali vncan cemonoque.

And he who was absent, who slept not in the young men's house, him they punished. And they ate in their homes. And they went about together where they had anything to do—perchance [preparing] mud[1] [for *adobes*, making] walls, cultivating the soil, [digging] canals; they did these going all together, or they divided up. And they went into the forest, and gathered and carried on their backs what they named torches for the song house.

auh in aquin poliuja, in amo telpuchcalco cochi, quitlatzacujltiaia, yoan inchan ontlaqua. auh cemololiuhtiui in canpa tlein quichioa, in aço pololli, tepantli, cuemitl, apantli, quichioa, motquitiui, anoço motexcoa. auh quauhtla uj, concuj, conmama in quilhuia cuicatlauilli:

And when only a little sun [was left in the afternoon], they quit whatever they did. Then they prepared and adorned themselves. First they bathed themselves; then they rubbed [black on] themselves, but not—they say—their faces. Then they put on their neck bands.

auh ĩ ça achi tonatiuh quicaoa in tlein quichioa, njman mocencaoa, muchichioa, achtopa mahaltia, njman mõça, amo no quilhuja in inxaixc nima mococoatia.

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The [valiant] men and chiefs put on neck bands of large sea shells, or of gold; they put on netted capes and leather corselets.[2] Then they painted their faces [with black stripes]. It was said, they applied black sweat to themselves. And they pasted on iron pyrites. As one's adornment, ear plugs were set in; turquoise ear plugs were worn. Heron feathers were applied; netted capes were worn. This netted cape [was made of] twisted maguey fiber, knotted like a net with small shells [attached]. The chiefs had golden shells in their netted capes. Of the net capes of the shorn ones, it was said, "They are provided with fruit." For this reason it was said, "They are provided with fruit"—[that] very large fiber balls hung from them by strings.

Yn oquichtin in tiacaoan, vevej chipoli in quimococoatia, anoço teucujtlacozcatl, motlacuechmanilia, motlaeoatimanilia, njman mjchio, mjtoaia motlilxotia hapeztli ic conpotonja, in jnechioal, monacochtia, monixjuhnacochtia, mozta tia, mochalcacatia, ynjn chalcaixcl tlamalintli in jcpatl, tlatlalpitl, iuhquin matlatl cillo, in tlatoque teucujtlacillo in jnchalcaiauh, in quaquachicti inchalcaiauh mjtoa xoxococ, ynjc mjtoa xoxococ, veveypupul in itech quipipiloa icpatetl,

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When the sun had already set, then they laid a fire [at the place] called the song house. On the hearth the youths laid the fire. When it was already dark, then was begun the singing. Everyone danced

yn iõc ie onaqui tonatiuh njman tlexea in quilhuja cujcacalco, tlehquauco in tlexitlalia telpupuchti, in ie tlaixmiqui, nimaa pozalo in cujco, muchi tlacatl

7. The word *gobill*, as used elsewhere in Sahagún, appears to mean to make adobes.
8. In *Bienaje Español* (p. 344, n. 1), Seler offers a variant for *cuahuacuechmanilia* and *motlaeoatimanilia*. Cuechili and *eoatl*, however, may be synonyms' guenonia, or have translated.

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Then they bore the child to the temple. The parents carried paper and incense. Chiefs or noblemen [took] breech cloths, capes, precious neck bands, quetzal feathers, and green stones, which they offered as gifts. The poor took only [their] paltry papers and incense, or sweet smelling herbs, which they used as their gifts.

When they had taken [the children] there, they then anointed them with black; they covered their faces well with a black paste. They then gave them neck bands of the roots of the birthwort.[6] A poor [child] they only provided a neck band of loose cotton. Then they cut his ears and cast the child's blood before the image of the devil. If he was yet a small child, then the parents took him [away]. If he was a chief's son, they left his neck band there at the temple; the priest took it away.

Then [the priests] taught him all the manner of living and rules by which they lived in the priests' house.

Niman quivica in piltontli in teupan, amatl, copalli in quitquj in pilhoaque, in tlatoque anoço pipilti, maxtlatl, tilmatli, cuecuetl, quetzalli chalchivitl, in quivenchiouia. Yn jcnotlacatl çan amatzintli, copaltzintli, anoço yiauhtli in quitquj in jpven muchioa,

yn oconvicaque, njman cohça tliltica, vel quixtlilpopotza, njman tlacopatli quiconcatia, yn jcnoliica çan ixquich potonquj quiconcatia, njmã quinacaztequi, contlatlaxilia in ixiptla Diablo in iexio piltõtli, intla oc piltontli oc quivica in pilhoaque, intla tlatooanj ipiltzin, iczequj vmpa [illegible]caoaia in teupan, conana in tlamacazque,

[302]
[301]

njman quimachtia yn ixquich nemiliztli, njc nemoa calmecac, in tlatecpantli.

6. *Aristolochia maxima* (Barlow, op. cit.).

[p. 62 is blank]

643 **Ninth Chapter, in which is told that with which the rulers were arrayed when they danced.**

Injc chicunnauj capitulo vncan moteneoa injn nechchioaia in tlatoque in jcoac macoaia.

301 [237] The [head] band with [two] quetzal feather[1] tassels set off with gold, with which they bound their hair;

Quetzallalpilonj, coztic teucujtlaio injc qujlpiaia, intzon

A quetzal feather crest device set off with gold, which he bore upon his back;

quetzalpatzactli, coztic teocujtlaio in qujmama

[237] A finely wrought headdress of red spoonbill[2] feathers, with flaring quetzal feathers, and with it a drum [covered] with gold—a device which he bore upon his back as he danced;

tlauhquetzoltzontli tlaçotlanquj, quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio, iujcal uetl coztic teocujtlaio, in tlaujztli in qujmama mjtotia

A golden arm band;[3]

teucujtlamatemecatl, coztic

Golden ear plugs, which he inserted [in the lobes of his ears];

teocujtlanacochtli coztic in caquja

[281] [314] A wrist band of cured leather, on which was a large, round, green stone or a fine turquoise which he placed on his wrist; [it was] treated with Peru balsam, so that it gleamed;

matzopetztli in cuetlaxtli, vej chalchiujtl ololiuhquj, anoço vej teuxiujtl ipan ca in jmaquechtlan qujlalia ujtziloxitica injc tlachiuhtli injc tlapetzolli

A green stone lip plug set in gold;

chalchiuhtentetl coztic teucujtlatica callo,

[237] [317] A long, white labret of clear crystal, shot through with blue cotinga[4] feathers, in a gold setting, which he inserted in his [lower] lip;

A long, yellow labret of amber in a gold setting;

iztac teçacatl, xiuhtototica tlamjntli, iztac teujlotl in jntenco caquja, coztic teucujtlatl in jcallo.

Coztic teçacatl, in apoçonalli teucujtlatica tlacallotilli,

643 A long, curved, green stone labret, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhteçacanecujlli, coztic teucujtlatl ic tlatzincallotilli,

301 A gold lip pendant;

teucujtlatempilolli coztic

532 A gold lip pendant in the form of a pelican;[5]

atototempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of an eagle;[6]

quauhtempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a fire serpent;

xiuhcoatempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a boasting pole;

uujctempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A disc-shaped lip plug of fine turquoise in a gold setting;[7]

temalacatentetl teuxiujtl coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A curved, green stone lip plug in a gold setting;

chalchiuhtencololli, coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A green stone lip plug in the form of an eagle, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhquauhtentetl, coztic teucujtlatl itzincallo,

1. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112, identifies *quetzaltototl* as *Pharomacrus mocinno mocinno*.
2. *Platalea ajaja* L. (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 124).
3. One such is described more fully in Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 67.
4. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 134, identifies blue cotinga as *Cotinga amabilis*.
5. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
6. *Quauhtototl*: quauh could mean warrior; therefore we always give preference to the meaning eagle.
7. After this phrase, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *chalchiuhtencololtentetl tecuic teuxiujtal pouhi*—a large, circular lip plug of green stone in a gold setting.

643 A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-
30 leafed water plant;
[532] A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold;
A green stone nose rod;
A fine turquoise nose rod;
A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together;
A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8]
A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold;
[237] A golden band for the calf of the leg;
A quetzal feather banner held in the hand;
A quetzal bird as headdress;
Quetzal feather horns;
A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold;
A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension;
A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells;
A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells;
643 Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the
[276] ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself
416 when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced.
[298 Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with
281] embroidery—embroidered sandals.
[534] [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells;
533 Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant.
415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent.
351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance.
415 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for
314 the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the
534 two-toned drum was sounded.

apatlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,
metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,
chalchiuhiacamjtl,
texxiuhiacamjtl,
chalchiuhconcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenqujxtilli, tlacecotl,
coztic teucujtlachaiaoac concatl, chalchiuhtlacanacalli iitic manj,
quetzalmachaoocotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,
coztic teucujtlacotzcoatl,
quetzalmacpanjtl,
quetzalxotoicpacxuchitl,
quetzalquaquauujtl,
quetzalecacecuextli coztic teucujtlaio
xiuhmacopilli,
coztic teucujtlachipulcoucatl,
teucujtlacoztic acuechcozcatl,
xuchitl, ietl, ineiscaujl tlatoanj, tecatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca inpial, in isqujch imaçeoaia tlatoanj,

oçeloeoacactli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,
teponaztli, teponaztzatzatli, vevetl xiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tetzilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,

cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, uruetzonanj, tlatzotzonoquj, cujcaitoanj,

tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in ixquich onjto. Veuej tepetanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtenteti, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacozcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,
xuchiquaujtl momanaia, in tepan itoalco, inezca catca: ca maçeoaz in tlatoanj,

tezcatanatli, tziquaoaztanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 543; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1098., on etymology of *amanteca*.

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

Injc matlactli cxpiualo, ipan mjtoa injc meellelquixtiaia tlatoque. 643

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

In jcoac quiça tlatouj, imac onociuh, iacapitzac, injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatociuh quiiacana in jtechiuhcaoan, in jtaoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in quitlapcujlitiuj: aiac vel quiiacaujltequj, aiac uel ixpan quiça, aiac vel acopa quitta, aiac uel quixnepanoa, [481] 643 644

He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

cujca, mecujcamachtia, cujcacheoua, quitlatlaquechilia, quiçaçanjlhuia, [521]

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, shoes, precious capes, valuable breech cloths, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, quitlanjtoa in jxquich tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in teocujtlaconcatl, in chalchiujtl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in mjlli, in callj, cotzehoatl, teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachoncotl, xonoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, inca tlachtli: [525 526] [301 576 314]

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

necocampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli injc xipetztic in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in vncan vel inepantla tlachdli, onoca tlecod tlaxotlalli in tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl manca, in aquja ollimanj vncan tlacalaquja, vncan quiçalaquja olli: njman ic quitlanj in jxquich tlaçotli tlaquitl, auh muchiotin quintlanj, in jxquichtin tetlatlattaque, in vncan tlachco: itlaujcallo in olli, maiecatl, oelpilanj, queçroatl. 345 526

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There went to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the commoners. He who was in playing *patolli*,

Patoa ica xiccotli, vevej etl nauhtetl in tlaixcoioniilli injc motlanj inmatica in quichtiaoa in nauhtetl etl, quiçujloa ce petlatl, tlilioca, papatlacxic in tlilli, injc mjcujloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoaltetl matlactetl omome chichiquacentetl imaxca inclapouhtzinco ioccemmc in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa, quitlanjlia in jxquich tlaçotli, cuxic teucujtlaconcatl, chalchiujtl, teuxiujtl, matzopeztli ipan ca chalchiujtl 524 524 525

1. Thipolli: the corresponding Spanish has dotes (dowry). See also below, description of patolli.

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524 was* all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green
525 stones, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round, green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers, shawls, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, dark feather capes. And he who played parcheesi, who cast the beans, if there he made cast [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a
[787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Then were all agreed; then all came to the end [of the game].

526 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with
411 a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged a bracelet on which were large, round, green
● 501 stones or fine turquoises. The ruler placed it about
643 his wrist.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, pounded so that the small stones were polished. With
[223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

522 There were their jesters who provided them solace
524 and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There
[732] were their servants, their pages who attended them and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, humchbacks,
[231] servants. They kept eagles, condors, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

chichiloqui, omoppa tzonicujti, quezalli, tlacoli, calli, xiqui, tlapechtecatl, petzcalli, tzoncujlotzcalli: chichiltzontli, tzoncujtlacuechtli, tzoncujcujlotzcalli. Auh in oppa patoanj, in quiçhicoua in ce, inin tzonteil ce ic tzoncujtlacuechtli, in tzoncujtzicoc ce, in tzoppa ic tlacujçhiqui: ceuan tzonmamachoua, ceuan tlamaniquilli ipan tzonteio: ninoan mochi quiçhoa, in jxquich tlacpac, in motlaçiqua in tzoncujtzicoc ce, in quezalpetzcalli, inic tzoncujtzicoc, inic tzoncujtlacuechtli, inic tzoncujtlacuechtli.

Tlachcujtia tlacujchicoa, tlaxcuica, tzoncujtica, tlacochtica: tlacujcalli, tzoncujtzotli ipan ca, uej chalchiuitl, chalchiqui, omoppa tzonicujti in jxnopochcuhca quiçhiuia tlaxcuj.

Tlatlacahuanja, tlahuanila ican tlacalhuatili, injcallo tlahuanilhui nimjchic: inic nopochca tolcuitl, ic quiçhuila tepiuanca tzonuc, tlachpochtzonlanja in jca tzonnacuhtli: inic quiçhuiçi nepapan tzonuc,

tzonchimjchin, tzonchimpantic, cuppic, in jxquich nepapan nochtl,

tzonco tzontlacuepcujpichcauan in quiçhuilchiquiçhuia, in quiçtzonnacuhtic: inon quenjnocuepca in quiçpopolhuia nojuc: tlamauiti in jxchichinol tzonxopqui, inon nonojotic, in jca inexpal tlacujca inic tlamati qc tlacati, tzonuncuc in quenonojotli in quiçhuia jca inexpal nepapantzonco cuepca in tzonnacuhtli qc tlamati in jxexpal ic tlamati,

nojuc tlamati, in tzoncuechti in quiçhuia, tzoncuca jxnacahuan, inahuan in quiçnojotzcuca in quiçnochtlaquixtia, tzopuxca, tolluca, tepetzcuca, tzochca, quiçquia quenquenchti, ayahuca, cujcujlachtia, tzonchalca, nepapan tzonuc.

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2. The final clause of the MS reads gobierno [the required form of govierno].

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adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair; and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzootequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc. 692 565 684

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 692

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj: 701

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonquixtiaia in aqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja. 696

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlac, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoalixtli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanoaia çanijo inquechin onactiuja, iuhquin matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaxtaxelconmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixquich in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia, çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlac in oc iohoan quiça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. 561 [524] 535 [491] [301] [342] [513]

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, açotlaoanalixtli, anoço nemecatilixtli, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla açotl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocnia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutini, açotl qujnmecanja, anoço qujtotetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujxtli qujxeca tlatoanj. 561 681

9. Tlacochcalcatl, discussed in Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 27; Jara, op. cit., p. 70; Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 182, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After nemecatilixtli, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has otra sodomiticalidad—or adultery.

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291 531 **Fifteenth Chapter, in which is described the adornment of the women.**

The orange-colored shift gathered at the waist; the shift [decorated with] yellow parrot feathers; the shift with the stamp device at the neck; the shift with flowers overspread; the shift of smoky color; [shifts] with large embroidered [figures] at the throat, with [designs] of cut reeds; the shift with feathers; the tawny colored shift; the shift of coyote fur; the duck feather shift; [the shift] with dyed rabbit fur; the shift with the gourd and thistle [design]; the shift overspread with dahlias;[1] [the shift] with the eagle head in a setting, done in feathers; the shift with a border of flowers;

The skirt with an irregular [design], having a wide border; the skirt with serpent skins, having a wide border; the skirt with the step meander, having a wide border, the skirt with squared corner stones, having a wide border; the skirt with thin, black lines, having a wide border; the white skirt [like a] bed covering, having a wide border; the ocelot skin skirt, having a wide border; the skirt with brown pendants, having a border; the skirt with coyote fur pendants, having a border;

301 Amber ear plugs; white crystal ear plugs; golden ear plugs; silver ear plugs; white obsidian ear plugs.

302 386 Their faces were painted with dry, colored [powders]; faces were colored with yellow ochre, or with bitumen. Feet were anointed with an unguent of burned copal incense and dye. They had hair hanging to the waist, or to the shoulders; or the young girls' lock of hair; or the hair [twisted with black cord and] wound about the head; or the hair all cut the same length. [Some] cut their hair short, [so that] their hair reached to their noses.[2] It was cut and dyed with black mud—[so] did they place impo-

Ic cuaxilli cuplinilac vncan mjtoa in jnnechichicoa in çan.

Vitztecolcujtlalpic vipilli, xmolcio ujpilli, quechnenecujlhoaxio vipilli, xuchimoiaoac ujpilli, pocujpilli, veuej tlamachili inmquj, tolnzaianquj, potoncaio vipilli, quappachlo vipilli, coioichcaio vipilli, xomoiujvipilli, tlapaltochoaujtica zicalnetzo[illegible] vipilli, acacuxichimoiaoac vipilli, inqe vncallo potoncaio xochitcio vipilli.

Chicuoçiçtl, patlaoac in jten: coatlaxipeoallo cucitl. patlaoac in jten, xicalcoliubquj cucitl, patlaoac in jten, tetenacazio cuejtl, patlaoac in jten, tilpipitzaoac cucitl, patlaoac in jten: cacamoliubquj itzac cucitl, patlaoac in jten, oçelocuejtl, patlaoac in jtē; quappachpipilcac cuejtl, tene: coiochcapipilcac cuejtl tene.

Apoçonalnacochtli, teujlonacochtli itzac, cuztic tecuçitlanacochtlj: itzac tecuçitlanacochtli, itznacochtli itzac.

Mexaoaia, tlapalhoatzalitica: mexaoaia, tecuçauhtica: mochapoperzaoaia: copalxxtica mocxioxiuja, tzonoçuetne, quatequeçque, xxotzocoleque, maxtlaoa, motzompeçtzalhica, qoçquetequj in jxtzon, qujiaiacaxcpenoa in jxtzon: tlatetecoa, mopatinenqj, qujmamaujzmati in jxtzontecon: moxiuhqujlpa, injc pepetlaca ixtzon: motlantlapalhujia, motlinochezuja, tzonaxicujloa, moqoechicujloa, moqoechtetema, molchiqujchicujloa, mochichioxticujloa.

1. In Hernández, op. cit., I, p. 34, *acocotzilitl* is identified as *Dahlia variabilis*, Cav. Sessea (*op. cit.*, I, p. 38), however, says of *acocotzin*: "Es bellísima, cultivada de adelantada estación, indígena del país, conocida también por chinita. (Lagasca *indigena*, var.)." Manuel Urbina, in "Plantas cultivadas de los antiguos mexicanos," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, segunda época, Tomo I, pp. 515-519, mentions two kinds of *acocotzilitl* (*cuexotl*, *quilitl*), of one of which Hernández is quoted to the effect that it has "*flores cordobesi purpureo*." Dr. Otto de Sinéty (*Nom. des Phanérogames*, II, p. 276), giving *Penstemon atropurpureus* D. C. for *acocotzin*; Urbina thinks it is *Arenaria atropurpurea* Benth. et Hook.

2. After *in jxtzon*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *mixquaxpiltica*—they left a tuft of hair over the forehead.

643 drums, the rubber drum hammers, and the ground
533 drums, and all the properties used in the dance. And
534 [he appointed the kind of] dance, him who would give the pitch, those who would lead, him who would beat the two-toned drum, him who would play the ground drum. All was first arranged, so that nothing would be left out.

643 And when there was a dance, the ruler [decided]
535 the day. At this time, he adorned and arrayed him-
292 self, [in his] head band with sprays of quetzal
301 feathers and gold, with which he bound his hair; a yellow labret, or a green stone lip plug, which he inserted in his [lower] lip; golden ear plugs, which he inserted in [the lobes of] his ears; and he laid on a neck band, either a neck band of green stone or a collar with turquoise inserted; he placed on his wrist a bracelet with a large green stone upon it, or a large turquoise; or a golden arm band; and a quetzal feather fan. With [these] costly goods he went in procession and danced. With a priceless cape he covered and wrapped himself, and in a costly breech clout he girt himself.

565 Then also they arrayed and accorded favors to all
535 the lords, and noblemen, the men [at arms], brave warriors, and the high judges, and the [lesser] judges, and brave warriors, men [at arms], and masters of the youths, and singers. And the ruler gave them drink and food, all the things which have been mentioned.

687 And if the singers did something amiss—perchance a two-toned drum was out of tune, or a ground drum; or he who intoned, marred the song; or the leader marred the dance—then the ruler commanded that they place in jail whoever had done the wrong; they imprisoned him, and he died.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how
726 he who was the ruler kept vigil; how he kept guard at night and all day, because of war.

The ruler was especially concerned with the keeping of watch against enemies and the guarding of the city, all day and all night. Hence he gave stern commands that guard should be kept faithfully. For at times, suddenly, the City of Mexico was circled by foes; perchance somewhere for this they were gathered together, and were laying a snare. Therefore the ruler kept careful vigil. He did not become besotted. He himself sometimes set forth by night, circled the city, and beheld what was done: perhaps the priest

veuetl: ioan in ixquich maçeoallatquitl, ioan nettotilitzli, aquin cujcaitoz, aquiquc in teiacanazque, aquin teponaçoz, aquin veuetzonaz, mochi achto mocencaoaia injc atle itlacauiz.

Auh in ie iconac maçeoa tlatoanj, in tlein ilhuitl ipan mocencaoa, mochichioa quetzallalpilonj coztic teucujtlaio, injc quilpia itzioc, coztic teçacatl, anoço chalchiuhtentetl in conaquja itenco, coztic teucujtlanacochtli, in caquja inacazco: auh in coztl conteca, aço chalchiuhconcatl, anoço cozcapetlatl, teuxiujtl itlaoctoc, macuextli imac quitlalia vei chalchiujtl ipan ca anoço vej teuxiujtl, anoço coztic teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalecaceoaztli, tlaçotlanquj injc mjtotia injc maceoa, tlaçotilmatli in quimololoa, in quimoquentia, tlaçomaztlatl in quimomaztlatia,

njman ic no quicencaoa quintlauhtia: in ixquichtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, in oquichti, tiiacaoan, ioan teuctlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tiiacaoan oquichtin, ioan tiachcaoan, ioan cujcanjme, ioan quinmaca in jiauh, in jtlaqual tlatoanj in jzquitlamantin omoteneuhque.

Auh intla itla quitlacoa cujcanjme: aço teponaztli quichalanja, anoço veuetl, anoço cujcaitoa, quipoloa cujcatl: anoço teiacana, in quipoloa nettotilitzli: njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco contlalia in aquin tlatlacoa, quitzacutiuh mjquja.

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO: vncā mjtoa injc ixnoçoaia in aquin tlatoanj, injc tlapiaia in ioaltica: ioan in cemjlhuitl in jpāpa iuiotl.

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocuitlaujaia in iautlapializtli, ioan altepepializtli, cemjlhuitl cēioal, ic tlatlaquauhnaoatiaia, injc cenca tlapialoz ma quenmanjan stenemachpan iauiaoalolo in altepetl mexico, aço cana ica necentlalilo, tlachichiujlilo, ipampa cenca ixnoçoaia in tlatoanj, amo tlaoanaia, iioena in ioboaltica quenmanjan quiçaia quijiaoaloa in altepetl quitta tlein muchioa, acaçomo tlapia in tlamacazquj in tiachcauh aço ic necuitlaujlo in mjxitl in tlapatl in octli ioan oc cenca quintlaquauhnaoatiaia in tlatoanj

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729
[643]
431
301

He gave them long, yellow labrets; or curved, yellow lip plugs; or long, blue labrets; or curved, blue lip plugs; or curved, green stone lip plugs; or green stone lip plugs; or lip shafts.[5] Then [he gave them] head bands with two quetzal feather tassels [intertwined] with flint knives [fashioned] of gold and with golden pendants; or head bands with two trupial feather tassels; and cured leather ear plugs; and costly capes—the one [known as] the lord's cape, with the obsidian serpent design; or the ashen gray one with red eyes on the border; or with earthen jars designed in feathers; or with the obsidian arrow step design; and costly breech clouts[6]—perhaps the breech clout with twisted ends, [or] with cotton at the ends—various kinds of costly breech clouts; and devices—perchance [the one with] the quetzal feather comb; or the golden banner; or the yellow Xolotl head; or the golden hood; or the golden conical cap; or the quetzal feather banner; or the obsidian butterfly with quetzal feathers and eyes of gold; and costly shields—perhaps [the one of] the skin [and feathers] of the blue cotinga; or of yellow parrot feathers—verily, all the costly shields. And he gave them stewardships: possibly in two places or in three he gave them [such offices]. For truly they had taken [captives].

in quinmaca cuxtic teçacatl, anoço cuxtic tencololli, anoço xuxouhquj teçacatl, anoço xuxouhquj tencololli, anoço chalchiuhtencololli, anoço calchiuhtenteti, anoço tlanjtemeti: njman ic quetzallaipilonj teucujtlatica tecpaio, ioan teucujtlatl in jpepeiocio, anoço çaquan tlalpilonj, ioan cuetlaxnacochtli, ioan tlaçotilmatli, ichoutl in tlaocatilmatli in jtzcoaio, anoço ixnextentlapallo, anoce iujticatetecomaio, anoço itzmjxicalcoliuhquj, yoan tlaçomaxtlatl, anoçe tzicoliuhquj maxtlatl, aiacaichcaio, içaço quexquich tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, aço quetzalpatzactli, anoço teucujtlapanjtl, anoço tozquaxolotl, anoço teucujtlaquacalalatli, anoçe teucujtlacopilli, anoço quetzalpanjtl, anoçe itzpapalotl quetzallo teucujtlatl in ixteioio, ioan tlaçochimalli, aço xiuhtotoiocatl, anoçe tozcoatl in ie uel ixquich tlaçotlanquj chimalli, ioan qujnmaca calpixcantli, aço ooccan, anoço eexcan in qujnmaca: ipampa ca nel ocaçique.

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And if the ruler should die, from these one was chosen to govern the city. And likewise from these, some were placed at the feet [of the judges] who pronounced judgments and meted out death sentences. [These were] the Tlacochcalcatl tecutli, or the Ticociauacatl tecutli, or the Cioacoatl tecutli, or the Tlillancalqui tecutli.[7]

Auh intla mjqujx tlatoanj: ichoantin ceme analoia, injc ichoantin qujpachoxque altepetl. Auh çan no ichoantin, cequintin ontlalilo tlacxitlan, in vncan tecutlatoa, in tlaxxontequj, in qujtzõtecticate mjqujztli: tlacochcalcatl tecutli, anoço ticociaoacatl, tecutli, aço çioacoatl tecutli, anoço tlillancalquj tecutli.

5. *Tlaxilwuitl*: Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 332, has *tlaxilwuitzin*.

6. After *yoan tlaçomaxtlatl*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: *quauhxoxouhtlatl—Kakiltepichoachiuh*, according to Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

7. A passage omitted from the *Florentine Codex* but included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending this chapter, has been placed in Appendix B.

And when he took four, Moctezuma then let his hair be cut like that of a seasoned warrior. He was named a seasoned warrior. And then also he assumed the titles of a seasoned warrior—perchance Mexicatl tequiua, or Tolnaoacatl tequiua, or Cinatecpanecatl tequiua: all the titles of a seasoned warrior. And then in truth was when they placed him on the mat and stool of the warriors' house—there where were gathered the great, brave warriors, where were the Tlacochcalcatl, the Tlacatecatl, the Ticociuacatl, the Atempanecatl—those who were great captains, who had long labrets, who had leather ear plugs, who had head bands with [two] eagle-feather tassels, with which [their hair] was bound.

And if six, or seven, or ten Huaxteca, or barbarians,[1] were taken, he gained thereby no renown. For this his title was only seasoned warrior.

Then if he went to take captives at Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, or Tliluhquitepec, for the fifth one whom he captured, then he gained great honor. For this his name was that of a great, brave warrior—a great captain. Then Moctezuma gave him a long, blue labret and a head band with [two] tufts of [eagle] feathers,[2] perchance with silver flint knives [between the eagle feathers], and leather ear plugs, and a bright red, rich, netting cape. And also he was then given a cape of two colors divided diagonally, and a leather cape.

And if he went to take two [captives] from Atlixco or[3] Uexotzinco, then already he filled everyone with awe. Then they gave him a long, yellow labret; he required[4] both the blue [and the yellow] long labrets.[5]

End

Auh inic naui caci ieh icoac quitequioacaxima in motecuçoma motocaiotia tequioa, auh no icoac compeoaltia in tequioacatocaitl aço mexicatl tequioa, anoço tolnaoacatl tequioa anoço cioatecpanecatl tequioa in iquich tequioacatocaitl, auh uel icoac contlalia inpetlapan icpalpan in quauhcali in vmpa cenquixtoque in ueuei tiacahoan in vmpa cate in tlacochcalcatl in tlacatecatl in ticociaoacatl, tocuiltecatl, atenpanecatl, ichoantin quauhiaca i, têçacaoaque cuitlaxnacochique quauhtlalpiloni inic ontlalpiloque. [293] 701

Auh intla chiquacen intla chicome anoço matlactin oquimacic cuestecatl, aço tenitl amo ic panuetzi, çan ic itoca in iaotequioa [186]

ca quinicoac intla otlamato atlixco anoco Uexotzinco, anoço tliluhquitepec inic macuilli caci icoac vel panuetzi inic veintiacauh in itoca quauhtiacatl niman quimaca in motecuçoma xoxouhqui têçacatl [43] ioan tlalpiloni aço iztac teucuitlatl in itecpaio, ioan [293] cuetlaxnacochtli ioan chichiltic cuechintli. Auh no [301] icoac maco in tilmatli chicoupalnacazminqui, ioan cuetlaxtilmatli.

Auh intla ome cacitiuh in atlixco anoco vexotzinco ic ic centlamamauhtia icoac quimaca in coztic têçacatl [293] ixcuitl, in iiouenesti quititlani in xoxouhqui têçacatl. 301

fin

1. *Texcalt:* "Hizo sabe así Ilamatlec [Olmeca, Uixtotin, Mixteca] *cuidado hacia el cumplimiento del rol, y Ilamatlec también tenimos, porque hablan lengua bárbara*"—Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 133. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text.
2. *Following tolquiloni,* the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *quauhtlalpiloni*—head band with eagle feather pendants. This word is omitted in the *Florentine Codex.*
3. *Auoco* should be read *anoço.*
4. *Quititlani:* a corrupted gloss in the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* suggests that the term is translated *auar.* Cf. also corresponding Spanish term, *auol*, in Simeon, *op. cit.*, *Auol, Auolo, Auolotia.*
5. *Following xoxouhqui,* the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *ia coztic;* these words are omitted in the *Florentine Codex.*
A passage left out of this codex is included in the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, ending the chapter. It is placed in Appendix C.

[p. 78 has no test material]

Fourth Chapter. Here is told what Moctezuma then commanded[1] when he knew that the Spaniards had come back: the second time [that] they came, [they did so under] Don Hernando Cortés.

He said to them: "Come, O ye intrepid warriors; come! It is said that our lord hath at last arrived. Receive him. Listen sharply; lend your ears well to what he will say. You will bring back what is well heard. Behold wherewith you will arrive [before] our lord."

[First was] the array of Quetzalcoatl:[2] a serpent mask made of turquoise [mosaic];[3] a quetzal feather head fan;[4] a plaited neckband of precious green stone beads, in the midst of which lay a golden disc;[5] and a shield with [bands of] gold crossing each other,[6] or with [bands of] gold crossing [other bands of] sea shells, [with] spread quetzal feathers about the [lower] edge and with a quetzal feather flag; and a mirror upon the small of the back,[7] with quetzal feathers, and this mirror for the small of the back [was] like a turquoise shield, of turquoise mosaic — encrusted with turquoise, glued with turquoise; and green stone neck bands, on which were golden shells; and then the turquoise spear thrower, which had on it only turquoise with a sort of serpent's head; it had the head of a serpent;[8] and obsidian sandals.

Inje nauj capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein ic tlaonaoati Motecuçoma, in oqujma in quenjn çan oalmocuepque Españoles, injc vppa oallaque, iehoatl in don hernando Cortes.

Quimjlhuj tla xioalhujan mocelloqujchtle, tla xioalhujan quil iequene oquiçaco in totecujo tla xicnamjquiti, vel xitlacaquican, vel xinacaçocan, tlein quitoz, vel nacaztli in anquioalcuiztque: iscatquj ic itech amacizque in totecujo,

iehoatl in jtlatquj Quetzalcoatl: couxaiacatl, xiuhtica tlachioalli, quetzalapaneccaiotl, chalchiuhconcapetlatl nepantla mantiuh teucujtlaconaalli, yoan centetl chimalli, teucujtlatica nenepanjuhquj anoço teucujtlatica epoepanjuhquj, quetzaltençoualhquj, yoi quetzalpanio; yoan texcacujtlapilli quetzallo: auh inin texcacujtlapilli, iuhquin xiuhchimallo tlaxiuhtzacutli, xiuhtica tlatzacutli, tlaxiuhçaloili, yoan chalchiuhcuecuextli, teucujtlacoiollotoc: njman ie iehoatl xioatlatl, çan motqujtica xivitl, iuhquin coztontecometica, coztontecome, yoan itzcactli.

776
301
431
[416]

1. *Tlamomati*: dismount is probably meant.

2. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 461, n. 1, says: "*In Waxhtèk in ilhuicatitlan.*"

3. Cf. Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher und Co., 1901), II, p. 413, in which a figure corresponds to the description in the corresponding Spanish text: "una mascara labrada de mosayco de turquesas tenija esta mascara labrada de las mismas piedras una calabra doblada y rematada cuya dublez era el pico de la nariz y la rematada yua hasta la frente era como linea de la nariz hasta se dibidia la cara de la calbaça y la calbaça era parte del cuerpo yua por cubrir el ro ojo de manera que hasia ecja y la cola era parte del cuerpo yua por cubrir el otro ojo y hasia otra ecja."

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "Tenia esta mascara encaxida en una corona alta y gruesa llena de plumas ricas largas y muy hermosas de manera que pareçiendo la corona sobre la calbaça se ponja la mascara en la cara."

5. Cf. *Codex Vaticanus*. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Tenia por joel una medalla de oro redonda y sovra ella unas cuentas de piedras preçiosas que echaban al cuello sobre los hombros y todo el pecho."

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "Tenia tambien una rodela grande bordada de piedras preçiosas con unas cuentas de oro que llegavan de orilla abaxo por toda ella; y otras medias de perlas atravesadas sobre las de oro de orilla abaxo por toda ella y los rapasitos que havia entre medias las quales yvan todas de red yuan puestas unas sapitas de oro tenja esta rodela otras rapasitas en la haxa yua asida en la rodela una manbera que salia haxa la manjca de la rodela hecha de plumas ricas."

7. Ibid.: "una medalla grande hecha de obra de mosayco que la llamaua ezuhi y cubijia sobre los honbros."

8. Ibid.: "yo vide como entro de chipre todo labrado de obra de mosayco de turquesas y la hechu de orilla era una cabeça de una culebra colorada o enramada."

431 776 292 301 The second [gift] which they went offering him was the array of Texcatlipoca — the headpiece of feathers, with stars of gold;[9] and his golden shell earplugs;[10] and a necklace of sea shells; and the breast ornament decorated and fringed with small shells; and the sleeveless jacket painted with a design, with eyelets on its border, and fringed with feathers;[11] and a mantle with blue knots, which was called *tzitzilli*, grasped by the corners in order to tie it across the back;[12] also, over it, a [mosaic] [416] mirror[13] lying on the small of the back; and, [as] another thing, golden shells bound on the calves of the legs; and one [more] thing, white sandals.

Injc vntlamantli qujmacato, iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Tezcatlipuca: hivitzoncalli, coztic teucujtlatica cicitlallo, yoan itecujtlacoiolnacoch: yoan chipolcozcatl; elpan cozcatl, cilin ic tlatlatlamachilli, ic tenchaiaoac; yoan xicolli, çan tlacujlolli, in jtenjxio, hivitica tenpoçonquj: yoan centetl tilmatli, xiuhtlalpilli, motocaiotiaia, tzitzilli, qujoalnacazvitzana injc mocujtlalpia; no ipan mântiuh tezcacujtlapilli: yoã oc no centlamãtli, tecujtlacoiolli, itlanjtzco molpiaia, yoã centlamantli, iztac cactli.

[237] [416] Third was the adornment of the lord of Tlalocan: the headdress of quetzal and heron feathers, replete with quetzal feathers. It had quetzal feathers and was blue-green; blue-green was overspread. And over it gold interspersed with shells. And green stone [were] his serpent-shaped ear plugs.[14] [There were] his sleeveless jacket, with a design of green stone; his neck ornament, his plaited, green stone neck band with also a golden disc. Also he had a mirror at the small of his back, as hath been told; and likewise he had rattles and a cape with red rings on the border,[15] which was tied on; and shells of gold for his ankles; and his serpent staff was made of turquoise.

Injc etlamantli, iehoatl in jnechichioal catca, Tlalocã tecutli: quetzalaztatzontli, çã moca quetzalli, motqujtica quetzalli, iuhqujn xoxoqujvi, xoxoqujuhtimanj: auh in jpan teucujtlatica epnepanjuhquj: yoan ichalchiuhcoanacoch: ixicol, tlachalchiuhicujlolli: in jcozquj chalchiuhcozcapetlatl no teucujtlacomallo, no tezcacujtlapile, in juhquj omjto, no tzitzile; tenchilnaoacaio in tilmatli injc molpia: yoan icxicoiolli teucujtlatl: yoan icoatopil, xiuhtica tlachiuhtli.

[237] Fourth, likewise the array of this same Quetzalcoatl was yet another thing: the pointed ocelot skin cap,[16] with pheasant[12] feathers; a very large green stone at the top, which was fixed at the tip; and round, turquoise [mosaic] ear plugs,[17] from which were hanging curved sea shells fashioned of gold; and a plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which there was likewise a golden disc; and a cape with red border which was tied on; likewise,

Injc nauhtlamantli çan ic no iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Quetzalcoatl, ie ne centlamantli: ocelocopilli, cozoliio; veitepul in chalchivitl yicpac ca ic quatzacutica; yoan xiuhnacochtli, malacachtic, itech pilcatica teucujtlaepcololli; yoan chalchiuhcozcapetlatl, çan no teucujtlacomalli in jnepantla mantia; yoan tilmatli tentlapallo injc molpia; çan no teucujtlacoiolli in jcxi itech monequja: yoan chimalli teucujtlatica itixapo, quetzaltençouhquj, no quetzalpanio:

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9. *Ibid.*: "una cabellera hecha de plumas ricas que colgaua por la parte detras hasta cerca de la cintura estaua cerrada toda de cascallos de oro."

10. *Ibid.*: "unas orejeras de oro que llamaã colpaiaje unos cascauelitos de oro y cuentas de cascabelicos marinos blancos y horadanos desta cuentas colgaua en cuerro que era cosa para y llamaãse cenjolo [sic] de manera que cubria todo el pecho hasta la cintura, llamase este para muchos cascabelitos cerrados y colgados por todo el."

11. *Ibid.*: "un escote de cada blanca pintada la orilla de abaxo desde cuerro yua bordada con plumas blancas muy lisas por todo al rededor."

12. *Ibid.*: "una manta rica la cada dellas era de azul claro y toda labrada cuenta de muchos labores de oro azul muy fino llamauase esta manta tzitzilli esta manta se ponja por la cintura anuda por las espaldas al cuerpo."

13. *Ibid.*: "una medalla de mesmajes, anuda al cuerpo cabo los lomos."

14. *Ibid.*: "unas orejeras de chalchiujtl, anchas que tenja dibre unas culebritas de chalchiujtes."

15. *Tzacabtzontic* is probably meant in the Aztec column.

16. Corresponding Spanish text: una mjtra de cuero de tigre, y colorgauan [sic] de la mjtra, sobre los espaldar, una capilla grande, hecha de plumas de cuerno, llamase la mjtra en chalchiujtl grãde: y redondo, en la punta."

17. *Ibid.*: "de mesmajes de turquesas."

12 ½ [There is no known genus of pheasant native to the New World. Perhaps the term is here used colloquially. — Analyst]

golden shells used upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[18] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[19] and white precious stone stars[20] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.'"

And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

yoā hecaxonecujlli, quacoltic, iztac chalchivitl injc citlallotoc yoan ipoçolcac. 431 770 301 292

Oca izqujtlamātli in, in motenecoa teutlatqujtl in intlatquj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tlamantli in qujtqujque in intenamjquja Teucujtlaquatecciztli tzotlapilollo, teucujtlacopilli, etc. 431 301

Niman ie ic flatanatemalo, tlacacaxchichioalo. Auh in omoteneuhque macujltin; njman ie ic quinnaoatia in Motecuçoma: quimjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana anvecauhti, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo in teutl: xiqujlhujcan, ca otechalioa in motechiuhcauh Motecuçoma: ixcatquj mjtzalmomaqujlia, ca omaxitico in jchātzinco mexico: 431 [482] 202

Auh in oacito atenco, quimŏpanavique, acaltica qujmonvicaque in xicalanco: ie no ceppa vncan oncoaq̄ acaltica qujnvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacalaquj, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatqujtl. Auh in ontlaacaltemaloc, njman ie ic vi, ommaroctique, itech onacito in jmacal, itech compachoque in jmacal. 505

njmā qujnoalilhujque. Ac ameoan? campa anoallaque?

njman iuh qujnnanqujlique. Ca vmpa tioallaque in Mexico:

oc ceppa qujnoalilhujque. Acaçomo, aço çan vmpa anmotlamja, aço çan anqujpiquj, aço çī toca anmocacaiaoa. 648

Auh in ovel yiollo macic, in oiniollopachiuh. Niman ic qujoaliacatzopinjque in acalli, tepuztopiltica, ic qujnoaltilinjque: njman no quioalquetzque ecaoaztli.

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18. *Ibid.*: "*la qual rodela estaua bordada con plumas ricas en la haze de la rodella [sic] auia otra redonda de plumas ricas.*"

19. *Ibid.*: "*un bastón labrado de manera de torçonas y en la hechu de arriba puestas unas plumbres ricas o penbo ornejaneste en la alto de arriba.*"

20. Literally, white green stone. The term *chalchiuitl*, often translated "jade" or "jadeite," may well have included various kinds of stones. Hence, our translation has adopted the term "green stone."

21. *Ibid.*: "*una mjtra de oro hecha a manera de corazal muy rico ó otras riquezas de plumas ricas que colgauan hasta los espaldas.*"

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "*otra mjtra Rana.*"

[p. 14 is blank]

Twelfth Chapter. Here is told how Moctezuma sent a lord, a great nobleman, and still many other noblemen, in order that they go to meet the Spaniards; and that with which each gave salutations as they greeted the Captain between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl.

And Moctezuma thereupon sent and charged the noblemen, whom Tziuacpopocatzin led, and many others besides of his henchmen, to go to meet [Cortés] between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl, there in Quauhtechcac. They laid before them golden streamers, quetzal feather streamers, and golden necklaces.

And when they had given them the gift, they appeared to smile, to rejoice exceedingly, and to take great pleasure. Like monkeys they seized upon the gold. It was as if then they were satisfied, sated, and gladdened. For in truth they thirsted mightily for gold; they stuffed themselves with it, and starved and lusted for it like pigs.

And they went about moving the golden streamer back and forth, and showed it to one another, all the while babbling; what they said was gibberish.

And when they saw Tziuacpopocatzin, they said: "Is this one perchance Moctezuma?" They spoke to those who came with them, their spies, those of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla. Thus in secret they questioned them. [These] said: "Not this one, O our Lords." This one was Tziuacpopocatzin, who was appearing in place of Moctezuma.

[The Spaniards] said to him: "Art thou perchance Moctezuma?" He replied: "I am your henchman; I am Moctezuma."

And these said to him: "Go thou hence. Why dost thou lie to us? Whom dost thou take us to be? Thou canst not fool us; thou canst not mock us. Thou canst not make us stupid, nor flatter us, nor become our eyes, nor trick us, nor misdirect our gaze, nor turn us back, nor destroy us, nor dazzle us, nor cast mud into our eyes, nor place a muddy hand over our faces. Thou art not he. Now Moctezuma cannot hide from us. He cannot take refuge. Where can he go? [Is he] perchance a bird that he can fly? Or can he set out on his way under the earth? Is

Inje matlactli omume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma, qujoa ce tlacatl vei pilli: yoā oc cequjntin mjequjntin pipilti in quinnamjqujto Españoles: yoan in tlein ic tlatlapaloque, injc qujtlapaloque Capitan, in jtzalan iztactepetl, yoan popocatepetl.

Auh in Motecuçoma: njmā ie ic qujmonjoa, qujmonjxquetza in pipilti, qujniacana in tzioacpopocatzin, yoan oc ceq'ntin cenca mjequjntin itechiuhcaoan cōnamjqujto, intzalan in popocatepetl, yoan iztactepetl vncan in quauhtechcac, qujmōmacaque teucujtl, quetzalpanjtl, yoā teucujtlacozcatl.

Auh in oqujmōmacaque iuhqujn yixvetzca, cenca papaquj, ahavia, iuhqujn cooçomatzitzquja in teucujtlatl, iuhqujn vncan motlatlalia, iuhqujn iiztaia, iuhq'n cecelia yiollo: ca nel ichoatl in cenca camjquj, quipoçaoa, qujteucivi, quipitzonequj in teucujtlatl.

Auh in teucujtlapanjtl quihiiauhtivitze, quitlatlavitzotivitze, quimoottititivitze, iuhquin tlapopoloca, in tlein quimolhuja in popolochcopa.

Auh in jquac oquittaque Tzioacpopocatzin: quitoque. Cujx iee hin in Motecuçoma: Quimjlhujque, in intlan mantivitze in intlachixcaoan, in tlaxcalteca, cempoalteca, injc quimōichtacatlatlanjque: conjtoque ca amo ie ichoatl totecujioane. Inin tzioacpopocatzin, quimjxiptlatica in Motecuçomatzin:

quilhujque. Cujx ie te in tiMotecuçoma? Conjto. Ca nchoatl in namotechiuhcauh in njMotecuçoma.

Auh njmā quilhujque. Nepa xiauh, tleica in titechixtlacavia, ac titechmati, amo vel titechixtlacaviz, amo vel toca timocaiaoaz, amo vel titechquamanaz, amo vel titechixmamatiloz, amo vel titechichchioaz, amo vel titechixcuepaz, amo vel titechixpatiliz, amo vel titechtlacuepiliz, amo vel titechixpopoloz, amo vel titechixmjmjctiz, amo vel titechixçoqujviz, amo vel titechixçoqujmatocaz? amo tehoatl ca vnca in Motecuçoma, amo vel technetlatiliz, amo vel mjnaiaz? campa iaz? cujx tototl, cujx patlanjx? cuj noço tlallan qujquetzaz yiovi, cujx cana ca tepetl

648 **Sixteenth Chapter.** Here is related how Moctezuma went in peace and calm to meet the Spaniards there at Xoloco,[1] where now standeth the house of Alvarado, or there at the place they call Uitzillan.[2]

And after this, when [the Spaniards] reached Xoloco, when affairs had thus far developed, and had reached this point,[3] thereupon Moctezuma arrayed and bedight himself in order to meet them. And [with him were] a number of great lords and princes, his chief men and nobles. Upon this, they went to meet them. In shining gourds they set out
[137 fine flowers — sun flowers[4] and magnolias,[5] and,
355] lying in the midst of them, popcorn flowers,[6] yellow magnolias,[7] and cacao blossoms;[8] and [there were] wreaths for the head and garlands. And they bore
● [301] golden neck bands, neck bands with pendants, and plaited neck bands.

648 431 And when, there at Uitzillan, Moctezuma met them, he then offered gifts to the war leaders, to the leaders of the warriors; he gave them flowers; he bejeweled them with neck bands; he hung garlands about them; he placed chains of flowers on them

Injc caxtolli occe capitulo: vncā mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma pacca, iocuxca quinnamjquito Españoles, in vmpa xoluco, in axcan ie vmpa manj ical albarado, in anoço vncan quitoa Vitzillan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oacico xoluco, in ie vncan tlantimanj ie vncan iaquetivitz. Niman ie ic muchichioa, mocencaoà in Motecuçomatzin injc tenamjqujz: yoan oc cequjntin veveintin tlatoque in tlaçopipilti, in jtlatocaiovan, in jpilloan: njmā ie ic vi tenamjqujzque, xicalpechtica cōmamāque in tlaçosuchitl, in chimalsuchitl, in iollosuchitl inepantla icatiuh in jzqujsuchitl, in coztic iiesuchitl, in cacaosuchitl, icpacsuchitl, in xuchineapantli: yoā quitquj in teucujtlacozcatl, chaiaoac cozcatl, cozcapetlatl.

Auh ie vncan in vitzilla ontenamjc Motecuçomatzin, njman ie ic contlamamaca in iautachcauh, in intepachocauh iauquizque, cozochimacac, concozcati in cozcatl, consuchicozcati, consuchiapan, conjcpacsuchiti: njman ie ic ixpan contequjlia in teucujtla-

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1. Xoloco or Xoluco served to identify the canal which ran along the Calzada de Chimalpopoca; this canal was crossed by a bridge given the same name. In times past they have been named Canal and Bridge of San Antón. Its exact location is the intersection of the Calzadas of San Antonio Abad and Chimalpopoca, the place of the first meeting of Cortés and Moctezuma (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). See map. Alfonso Caso, in *Los barrios antiguos de Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco* (México, D. F.: 6ª Mesa Redonda, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, Sept. 1954; mimeographed), identifies Xoloco as a *barrio* bounded N. by a line S. of Calle de José Ma. Iturraga; E., Pino Suárez and S. Antonio Abad; S., Lucas Alamán; and W., extension of 20 de Noviembre.

2. Near the Church of S. Pablo, according to Sahagún's Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Chapter 30.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: *"En llegando los españoles a aquel río que esta sobre las casas de alvarado que se llama Xoloco."*

4. *Chimalxochitl. Chimalxuxechitl* is mentioned in Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 101-102 (fig., p. 102). Chimalxicat (*ibid.*, p. 100), *"tiene . . . flores redondas mayores (parvae prodigie) de un palmo, amarillo rojizas con algo de amarillo más fuerte en su parte media"*; *Helianthus annuus* L. Linn.; *girasol, chimalxóchitl, maíz de teja*. *Chimalxuxechitl* is classified as *"compuesta!"*

5. *Yollocxochitl. Yolxochitl* (*Talauma mexicana*, Don?), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 299. According to Emily Walcott Emmart: *The Badianus Manuscript* (*Codex Barberini, Latin 241*), *Vatican Library — an Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 310 and Pl. 98, it is the Mexican magnolia and (citing Sahagún), "was reserved solely for the nobility, especially a kind known as *davalloxochitl.*"

6. *Izquixochitl. Izquixóchil*: in Chiapas, *jazmín del imno — Bourreria formosa*; *B. huanita*; *B. littoralis* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 626). Popcorn flower (*Bourreria huanita* [La Llave and Lex] Hemsl.), according to Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 276 and Pl. 69 — a rare and coveted plant whose flowers were used to flavor cocoa. In Sahagún (Jourdanet and Siméon ed.), p. 97, n. 2, it is noted that *"Cette fleur sèrvit sur l'arôme izquixochiquauitl, nouvelles histoires, de la famille des styracinées."*

7. *Yzcuchitl.* Nardo Antonio Recho (*Rerum medicarum novae Hispaniae thesaurus seu plantarum animalium mineralium mexicanorum historia ex Francisci Hernandez* [Rome: Ex Typographeio Vitalis Mascardi, 1651], p. 258) gives *elxochitl* as an alternative (*quam alij* Elxochitl, *nos* Flavum Flos, *alij vero* Cuxuhquixochitl [*cuxuhquiz*?] *seu* Yzcuchitl pallidum, *vocant*"), a cold climate plant (*"provenit regionibus frigidis, & montosis locis"*). There is a confusion of terminology. Santamaría (*op. cit.*, I, p. 588) identifies it *elxochitl* as *Magnolia dealbata* Zucc. Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 275) points out that, while according to Hernández it is a magnolia, in the *Badianus MS* the flower "appears to belong to the Compositae."

8. *Cacaoxochitl. Cacahuaxóchil*, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 250 (*Quararibea funebris Llave*). In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 348, it is identified as *"Rosita de cacao. Myrodia funebris. Rosa. Enervaldama."* Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 311 and Pl. 98) has *Theobroma angustifolium* DC, one of the important cacao plants.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

532

[651
301
292]

[778
346]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

51. Tribute left for the Spaniards (Chapter 18). 54. Alvarado asks to see the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 55, 56. Spaniards see preparations for the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 57, 58. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(I)]

Eighteenth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards entered Moctezuma's princely home, and what happened there.

After this they went to Moctezuma's own store house, where were kept Moctezuma's own goods, a place called Totocalco.[1] [They acted] eager and content; they clapped one another on the back, as if happy. And on arriving, when they entered the store house, they scattered, bustling everywhere, as if greedy and covetous.[2] Thereupon were taken out the goods which were in truth [Moctezuma's] own, his exclusively, his portion, precious items all: neck bands with pendants, arm bands with tufts of quetzal feathers, golden arm bands; and bracelets, golden bands with shells to fasten at the knee, and turquoise mosaic crowns with triangular forehead pieces — the rulers' attire; and turquoise nose rods; and all the rest of his array, without number. They took it all. They possessed themselves of all, appropriated all to themselves, and took all to themselves as their own.

And after they had removed all the gold [from the raiment], when it had been torn off, they then piled up in the courtyard, in the middle of the area, all the precious feathers. And when this had been done, when all the gold had been gathered, then Marina summoned, and ordered called, all the noblemen. She got upon the roof-top, on a parapet. She said: "O Mexicans, come hither!" The Spaniards have suffered great fatigue. Bring here food, fresh water, and all which is needed. For they are already tired and exhausted; they are in need; they are spent and in want. Why do you not wish to come? It appeareth that you are angered."

But the Mexicans no longer dared go there. They were much frightened; they were weak with fear; they were terrified. Great awe spread; dread reigned.[4] No longer did one dare do anything. It was as if a fierce beast were there; as if the land lay dead. None the less, not on this account did they do nothing, nor hesitate to leave that which was needed. But they

Iaje cxxtolli onse capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn Españoles calaqujto in jpilchan Motecuçoma: auh in tlein vmpa muchiuh.

Niman ie ic vi in vel itlatlatiaia Motecuçoma in vmpa mopia in vel itech iaxca in motecuçoma: itocaiocan Totocalco iuhqujn mocecenquetza, iuhqujn yioiolipan, iuhqujn moquequetzotzona, iuhqujn iiztaia iniollo. Auh in onacito, in oncalacque tlatlatiloian, iuhqujn tlacecẽmana, novian xactivetzi, iuhqujn mjhicultia, mjhicolia: njmã ie ic oallaqujxtilo in vel ixcoian yiaxca, in vel ineixcavil, in vel itonal, mochi tlaçotlanquj, in chaiaoac cozcatl, in machoncotl, in teucujtlamatemecatl, yoan in matzopetztli, teucujtlaicxitecuecuextli, yoan in xiuvitzolli tlatocatlatqujtl, yoã in iacaxivitl, yoan in jxqujch in oc cequj in jtlatquj in amo çan tlapoalli muchi qujcujque, moch intech compachoã moch cõmotechtique, moch cõmotonaltique.

Auh in occõcocoleuhque in jxqujch in teucujtlatl: in ontlacocoleoaloc, njman ie ic qujcentlalia itoalco, itoalnepantla in jxqujch in tlaçohivitl. Auh in ie iuhquj in omochi munechico in teucujtlatl. Njmã ie ic qujoalnotza, qujoalnenotzallanj in jxqujchtiñ in pipiltin in Malintzin: tlapanco oalmoquetz, atenantic-pac: Quitoa. Mexica xioalhujan ca cenca ie tlaihiovia in Españoles: xiquallcujcã in tlaqualli, in chipaoac atl, yoan in jxqujch monequj, ca ie tlaihiovia, ie qujciavi, ie qujhiovia, ie mociavi, ie mjhiovia: tleica in amo anoallaznequj? ic neci ca anqualanj.

Auh in Mexica çã njmã aocmo motlapaloaia in ma onvian, cenca momauhtiaia, mauhcaçonequja mjhiçaviaia, cenca maviztli onoc, maviztli moteteca, aocac tlaxtlapaloa, ça iuhq'in tequanj vnca, ça iuhqujn tlalli mjctoc: tel amo ic mocaoa, amo ic netzotzonalo in cencaoa in jxqujch intech monequj, ça in mauhcac in concaoaia, çan momamauhtitivi, ça onmomauhcatla-

1. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VIII — Kings and Lords, p. 43.

2. Bâtz, op. cit., p. 494, translates thus: "Also ach sie sind aufgerichtet gekes, sein Herren (oder sein Tiere), gleichsam einander ergleichend, kurbespringender."

3. Xiquahuajcuc: this should probably be read xiquahuiac.

4. Mexicans: the word is blurred in the MS.

701 (And this Tzilacatzin was an Otomí [warrior], as a chieftain, because of his Otomí hairdress. For he despised his foes, even the Spaniards. He disdained them; in truth, all were completely terrified. When they saw Tzilacatzin, our foes then cowered. And much did they try to slay him; either to pierce him with iron bolts, or shoot him with a gun. But Tzilacatzin disguised himself, that he might not be [301] recognized. At times he put on a device; he hung his lip pendants and inserted his golden ear plugs, and he put on a neck band of small white shells; but his head went uncovered, so that it was apparent that he was an Otomí. And sometimes [he had] only his heavy cotton shirt and a thin band with [293] which he wrapped his forehead. And at times he disguised himself by putting on a feather headdress and wig, a head band with [two] eagle feather tufts which went at the back of the head, used to bind [his hair]. Thus did one go with it bound at the time that men were cast into the fire.[3] He went in the guise of one who cast men into the fire; he went imitating those who cast men into the fire. [He had] his golden arm bands; on both arms he had them—in both places he had them on his arms. And the [301] golden arm bands glistened.[4] And also he had about the calves of his legs, leather bands—gilded leg bands, which shone.)

(Auh inin Tzilacatzin otomjtl catca injc tiacauh, ipampa in tlaotonxintli, ichica amo imjxco tlachiaia in iniaovan in manel Españoles, amo tle inpan qujmjttaia, vel tlacenmamauhtiaia: in jquac in qujttaia in Tzilacatzin, njman mocototztlaliaia in toiaovan: auh cenca qujtemoaia, injc qujmjctizque, in aço qujtepuzmjvizque, in anoço qujtlequjqujzvizque. Auh in Tzilacatzin, çā mjxpoloa injc amo ixtimachoz: in quenman tlaviztli in ommaqujaia, itenpilol compiloaia, yoan iteteucujtlanacoch yoā conmococatia in jcozquj chipoli, çan tlapouhtiuh in jtzontecon, neztiuh injc otomjtl: auh in quēmanjan çanjo in ichcavipil canactontli injc ommoquaqujmjloa, auh in ōmanjan injc mjxpoloa cōmaqujaia ihujtzoncalli, quatzone quauhtlalpiloni icuexcochtlampa tentiuh, ic tlalpitiuh ichoatl injc tetlepantlaxoia, iuhqujn tetlepantlazquj ipā qujztiuh, qujntlaiecalhujtiuh in tetlepantlazque iteteucujtlamatemecauh nococcampa in ietiuh yiocanjzti ietiuh in jmac: auh in teucujtlamatemecatl cuecuenio auh no ie in jcxic ieietiuh, cotzeoatl, teucujtlacotzeoatl çan petlanquj)

726 And then, next day, when once again their boats set out, they grounded them at Nonoalco, at Ayauhcaltitlan.[5] And then also came out those who went afoot, as well as all the Tlaxcallans and Otomí. Indeed, in force the Spaniards issued to fall upon [the Mexicans]. And when they came to and arrived at Nonoalco, thereupon there were battle and fighting; in truth there spread strife and war. Death was dealt on both sides. All their foes were shot at with arrows, and also all the Mexicans. On both sides equally was there suffering. Thus all day and all night they all fought.

But [there were] two great chieftains who turned not their faces, who despised those who were their foes, who set no value upon their bodies. The first man was named Tzayectzin; the second was named Temoctzin. And a third was the [afore]mentioned Tzilacatzin.

Auh njmā imuztlaioc in ie no cuel ceppa qujçaco in jmacal onacanaco nonoalco, aiauhcaltitlā: auh njman no qujçaco in tlacxipanvia yoan in ie ixqujch tlaxcaltecatl yoan otomjtl, vel tonac in qujntepevitivitze in Españoles. Auh in oacico nonoalco: njmā ie ic tlaiecolo, necaliva, vel motetemman in tlaiecoliztli in iauiotl, necoc in mjcoaia ixqujch mjnaloa in iniaovan, no ixqujch in mexicatl, necoc ivi, necocolo, iuh cemjlhujtl, iuh ioac in necalioac.

Çan vmen in vevei tiacauā in amo mjtzacmjlianj, in atle inpan qujmitta in iniauā catca, in amo qujtlaçotlaia in innacaio. Jnjc ce tlacatl itoca Tzaiectzin. Jnjc vme itoca, Temoctzin: auh ic teeca in omoteneuh in Tzilacatzin.

3. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II—*The Conquest*, Chapter 29.

4. *Guauexio*: probably *cuauxolo* is meant.

5. A part of Nonoalco, in Tlatilulco.—Cano, op. cit.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
[306
314
323
325]

OTHER GOODS

5 strings of *chalchiuites*[69]
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal and burners (quarterly)
400 baskets of refined copal (quarterly)
1,200 yellow-colored clay vessels (quarterly)
100 little copper hatchets (quarterly)

Tribute of the component towns.—Some idea of the way in which this burden was shared may be gathered from the following details. 651 632

Alahuiztlan "davan de trebuto mantas, maiz, chian."[70]

Cueçalan gave chalchiuites annually (the string listed above?), besides mantles and other things.[71]

Chilapan gave maize, chile, and animals important for religious reasons (ocelots and eagles).[72]

Otlatlan gave cotton mantles, delivering them directly to Mexico,[73] instead of to a local depot.

Oztoma, being obliged to support the local Mexican garrison, seems to have given nothing more.[74]

Teloloapan gave clothing of various sorts and a mineral dyestuff called "tlalcozahuitl."[75] [386]

Tepequacuilco—as might be expected of the eponymous town—was the presidio from which most of this tribute was gathered.[76] In colonial times, Tepequacuilco became a famous mining center, and indeed, it lost its importance only when the railroad reached Iguala.

Totoltepec is said to have been another nontributary, like Oztoma, because of the garrison, but it still thought it expedient to send its overlords "gifts" of mantles, chalchiuites, and copper.[77]

[69] *PNE*, 6: 102.

[70] "Cada vn año vna esmeralda berde que llaman ellos chalchihuitl, dauanle mantas y otras cosas que tenyan" (*PNE*, 6: 140).

[71] "A Motecçuma ... le servia de llevalle algunos tigres y aguilas, algun mahiz y chile en recognoçimiento" (*PNE*, 5: 178). Eagles were the sole tribute of the northern frontier province of Oxitipan.

[72] "Era de Moteçuma ... y le trebutavan mantas de algodon, y ellos mysmos se las llevavan a Mexico" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[73] "Trebutavan ... mantas y guaipiles y naguas y mantillas delgadas, y tlalcozahuitl que es una arenilla para hazer color amarilla, y otros colores, las quales buscaban para llevar a Mexico con el tributo, por sus tercios" (*PNE*, 6: 146).

[74] "Tenian los señores de Mexico en este pueblo en tiempo de su gentilidad presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recojian de toda la cuisca que eran mantas y algodon y otras cosas" (*Relación de Iguala* [1931], p. 223).

[75] "No llevava trebuto por questavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma, y ... algunas vezes del año enbiaban presente a mexico de mantas y piedras verdes y 'hierro colorado' ques cobre" (*PNE*, 6: 149).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

816 bundles[a] of orange-striped mantles, 8 brazas long**
408 bundles[b] of large white mantles, 8 brazas long**
402 bundles[c] of mantles striped red and yellow**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
240 bundles of rich mantles in three styles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

800 loads of dried chili peppers

OTHER GOODS*

20 bags of small white feathers for decorating mantles
2 strings of chalchiuites
1 string of turquoises
2 disks of turquoise mosaic

Another source, which magnifies the seven towns into seven provinces in the "gran provincia de Tochpan"[d] (seventy-eight pueblos in all), gives the following version:

CLOTHING

1,580 bundles of mantles
25 mantles and *huipiles*
400½ bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long
400½ bundles of thin "twisted" mantles, 4 brazas long

This is summed up as 47,645 articles of clothing, a smaller figure than that given by the *Mendocino*.[e] Perhaps we have here the tribute of the cabecera alone. Servants were also supplied, we are told.[f]

Still other sources give more details concerning items included in the opulent tribute of Tuchpa Province, among them a kind of mantle called "Tuchpanecayotl."[g]

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[a] Corrected from 800.
[b] Corrected from 400.
[c] Corrected from 400.
[d] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. It is interesting that the number seven is given, which corresponds to the number of towns known to us from the *Mendocino*.
[e] The total number of pieces of clothing from Tuchpa Province specified in the *Mendocino* is 85,480.
[f] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197: "En la gran provincia de Tochpan puso por su mayordomo á Huehuetli, que cobraba en cada un año de las mantas del género atrás referido, mil quinientos y ochenta fardos, y mas veinticinco mantas y huepiles, sin más cuatrocientos fardos, y más diez mantas de ilacatziuhqui [Molina: cosa torcida] de a ocho brazas, y otros tantos fardos de mantas de ilacatziuhqui delgado de a cuatro brazas, que por todo venían á ser cuarenta y siete mil seiscientos cuarenta y cinco mantas, enaguas y huepiles, piezas de ilacatziuhqui y pañetes sin más las amas de palacio y criadas que eran necesarias para el servicio. La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias, que contenian todas ellas sesenta y ocho pueblos a ellas sujetos."
[g] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 315. See also Krickeberg, *Los totonacas* (1933), pp. 110–111.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[28] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[29]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan chronicler, was conquered by that power,[30] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[31] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

[291]

CLOTHING

400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**

[714 317 237 301]

2 warriors' costumes with shields*
1 string of chalchiuites*
400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

[262]

FOOD

200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[32]

[28] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[29] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[30] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[31] RHE, 1: 131.
[32] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuetlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xoconochco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matricula* shows the following items:

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore**
800 red-and-white striped mantles**
400 women's blouses and skirts**
1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard*
1 gold shield*
1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers*
1 gold diadem*
1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
2 strings of gold beads*
3 large chalchiuites*
4 strings of chalchiuites*
20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao

la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Teochtepec [*sic*] que asimismo la ganó y sojuzgó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyeztzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y viente de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y viente piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil pelotas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodelas, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de armas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Ucila. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.
** Also from Ucila.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 712 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18′) with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING[b]

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD[b]

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS[b]

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[c]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[d]

[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.
[b] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: Pl. identifies it as *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.
[c] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada vno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

into such a city; and for the many times He has saved me from danger of death, as will be seen later on, I give Him sincere thanks, and in that He has preserved me to write about it, although I cannot do it as fully as is fitting or the subject needs. Let us make no words about it, for deeds are the best witnesses to what I say here and elsewhere.

Let us return to our entry to Mexico. They took us to lodge in some large houses, where there were apartments for all of us, for they had belonged to the father of the Great Montezuma, who was named Axayaca, and at that time Montezuma kept there the great oratories for his idols, and a secret chamber where he kept bars and jewels of gold, which was the treasure that he had inherited from his father Axayaca, and he never disturbed it. They took us to lodge in that house, because they called us Teules, and took us for such, so that we should be with the Idols or Teules which were kept there. However, for one reason or another, it was there they took us, where there were great halls and chambers canopied with the cloth of the country for our Captain, and for every one of us beds of matting with canopies above, and no better bed is given, however great the chief may be, for they are not used. And all these palaces were [coated] with shining cement and swept and garlanded.

As soon as we arrived and entered into the great court, the Great Montezuma took our Captain by the hand, for he was there awaiting him, and led him to the apartment and saloon where he was to lodge, which was very richly adorned according to their usage, and he had at hand a very rich necklace made of golden crabs, a marvellous piece of work, and Montezuma himself placed it round the neck of our Captain Cortés, and greatly astonished his [own] Captains by the great honour that he was bestowing on him. When the necklace had been

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7
Tarasco N434
Zapotec N444

The Aztec people had, however, some knowledge of metallurgy, for they melted the copper and cast it in moulds, an art which the aborigines in the United States never seem to have acquired. Cortez tells us that in the markets of the City of Mexico A 325

> "hatchets were sold made of copper alloyed with tin and that this alloy was used with a silicious powder with which they cut the hardest stones." A [324]

The Spanish historians speak of Cholula, a very ancient City of Mexico, founded before the arrival of the Aztec, which excelled in metal working, and that the Tarascans living west of the valley of Mexico were familiar with copper found in the mountains in that district, which they worked into defensive armor, body plates of wood covered with sheet copper. They also state that the Zapotec made ornaments of copper obtained from the mines in Oaxaca. A T Z 325 171

Copper implements, however, were not common near the City of Mexico but were plentiful in Oaxaca, Michoacan, and the Jalisco region. The T-shaped implements were found at Mitla, Central America, being abundant in the Zapotec country. The objects, some made of very thin sheet copper, others heavier, possibly cast, are of uncertain use; those too thin to be used as tools for wood or stone, are thought to be instruments used in their feather work or pottery, others regard them as a money currency or exacted as tribute paid to the City of Mexico by the neighboring cities, this latter being the general opinion. A T Z [651]

The number as well as the variety of copper objects from Mexico found in our Museum collections, is rather limited, consisting of a few copper ax heads, chisels, large and small, little bells, finger rings, beads and pins. The peculiar T-shaped objects are the most abundant, differing somewhat in shape and size. An analysis of one of them in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, proved it to be simply copper. It was doubtful if the ancient Aztec had a knowledge of bronze or knew how to obtain it until shown by the Spanish invaders, and such analyses of Mexican metal objects, giving a percent of tin to indicate a true bronze, may have been implements made after the instruction by the Spaniards. Some copper tools from Mexico when analyzed showed a small amount of tin believed to have been an impurity in the A 325 [412 301]

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7

325 copper ore. A chisel reported in the "Anales del Museo de Mexico" quoted by Sir John Evans, in his *Ancient Mexican Implements* when analyzed gave copper 97.87%, tin 2.13%, not sufficient to make a true bronze. Copper axes from Oaxaca, some heavy metal, apparently cast in a mould, others thin, shaped from sheet copper, have been analyzed and yielded only copper, showing they were *not* bronze.

A recent analysis was made for the writer of a portion of a metal chisel of Aztec origin from the village of Acatlan, in the State of Guerrero, Mexico. It was doubtless authentic being sent by Dr. Manuel Gamio, Direccion Anthropologia, Mexico, for analysis, which was made by Dr. D. L. Wallace of the University of Pennsylvania, Analytical Department. The piece of metal apparently broken from the middle of the chisel weighed 88 gms. It was 30 mm. long, 20 mm. wide and 15 mm. thick. It had a brown patina of oxidation, gave clean metal borings (used in the analysis) of dark red bronze color, and had the appearance of having been cast in an open mould. The specific gravity of the metal was 8.00 compared with Lake Superior native copper 7.50. The analyses yielded results as follows:

Copper	91.40%
Tin	3.07%
Lead	0.82%
Iron	0.53%
Cobalt	0.09%
Sulphur	0.82%
	96.73%
Thallium	?

Other metals often associated with Copper were tested for and not found, but tests indicated Thallium. This element Thallium occurs in some copper ores in Mexico as the mineral Crookesite, a copper Thallium selenite sulphide; and it is believed the portion unaccounted for in the analysis was due to the Thallium. [317]

325 The little copper bells in the Museum collections seem to have been found in Mexican sites as well as in Central America, and are quite abundant in some localities. Some of these bells were about one half to three-quarters of an inch long, others of more than two inches and of different shape. ● 301

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7

S. G. Morley in his description of Copan says:

"The discovery of copper bells of Mexican origin at a number of archeaological sites in Arizona and New Mexico clearly point to trade relations between the Pueblo Indians and the tribes of Central America in pre-Columbian times; these bells very closely resemble the copper bells found in the sacred Cenates of Chichen Itza, Yucatan, which can hardly have been carried there before 1200 A. D.

Analysis has proved these metal bells to be copper with some little impurities; and it is believed they were cast by what is known as the *cire perdue* process. This method consists in using a wax model, or a core of clay covered with a wax pattern, the mould being heated, the wax melted and ran out, leaving the shape of the object to be cast, which was then filled with the melted metal. This is interesting because this process was well known to the makers of bronze ornaments in Europe, and it is a question if these little bells found in the Aztec or Maya burials were made by the *cire perdue* process; was it a discovery by the American race independent of foreign knowledge?

This might suggest a greater antiquity for this art of casting than that in Europe and would show a considerable amount of experience in metallurgy for the aborigines, and it is surprising that more elaborate objects were not made by them. Judging from the character and variety of cast objects of bronze from South America, the ancient Peruvians were familiar with the *cire perdue* method. Did the Inca discover it? They were certainly the earliest users of the alloy bronze in America with the exception of the unknown builders of Tiahuanaco, among whose ruins have been found bronze tools. With regard to the knowledge the Aztecs had of bronze, it is difficult to establish their claim until more analyses are made of specimens of undoubted Mexican origin, indicating an alloy with a composition of about 90% copper and 10% tin. The following analyses by P. Rivet, taken from his contribution in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* show to what extent tin was used by the Aztecs in their metal objects.